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No. 1479

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WERBLAN ADDRESSES 60TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Nov 77 pp 1,2 AU

[Report on speech by Andrzej Werblan, Central Committee secretary and head of the PZPR Institute of the basic problems of Marxism-Leninism, at the Moscow International Scientific-Theoretical Conference "Great October and the Present Epoch"--no date given]

[Text] Speaking in the discussion, Prof Andrzej Werblan, chairman of the Polish delegation to the conference, said that the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of October had provided a strong stimulus for theoretical and ideological deliberations. The profound generalization of the historical experiences of socialism as it exists and of the basic problems and development prospects of the present epoch contained in Leonid Brezhnev's report at the solemn Kremlin meeting and in all the achievements of that meeting have enriched Marxism-Leninism and the study of the problems and tasks facing the communists in all countries.

A. Werblan recalled that the October Revolution had made an enormous impact on the fates of the Polish people, on the development of the Polish workers class and on the Polish revolutionary movement, which, since the beginning of this century, has had strong organizational and ideological links with the Bolshevik Party, with Lenin's party. The October Revolution and the famous decrees issued by the Soviet Government canceled Poland's partitions and paved the road for the Polish people to regain their independent existence as a state.

There have been many reasons for the fact, A. Werblan said, that, despite a considerable activation of the masses and an extensive development of the councils of workers delegations, the government of the newly established Polish state was in the hands of the bourgeoisie. However, the revolutionary years exerted an enormous influence on the further development of the Polish revolutionary movement and on its adopting the Leninist concepts. The Polish Communist Party assumed the struggle for the freedom of the Polish people and for the socialist road of development. It steadfastly proclaimed the idea of rapprochement between Poland and the Soviet Union, displaying farsightedness, internationalism and patriotism.

Characterizing the interwar period, the September defeat and the Hitlerite occupation, A. Werblan pointed out that the policy followed by the Polish reactionaries had proved a complete fiasco, but that the Marxist-Leninist Polish workers party had worked out a correct concept for the national and social liberation, had won for it the working people's support and had organized the liberation struggle. The Soviet Army played a decisive role in liberating our country and the USSR's political assistance was of crucial importance for the rebirth of the Polish state in a new territorial and political shape. The alliance with the USSR is now one of the fundamental canons of Polish political thought, constitutes the basic principle of the policy of our party and our state and enjoys a strong support in the sentiments of the Polish people, expressing their class and national rights, A. Werblan stressed.

Analyzing the influence of the October Revolution on the fate of the Polish people, A. Werblan said that the basic ideas of this revolution and of socialist construction as well as its general, universal distinctive features had been fully reaffirmed under Polish conditions. The course of the revolutionary processes in our country certainly possesses its specific features resulting from the Polish people's historical traditions and mentality and from the specific balance of forces. However, the general direction of the revolutionary process is mapped out by its common, universal features whose first, main and classic embodiment was the October Revolution and the pioneering experiences of the Soviet Union.

The recurrence of these universal laws in the specific conditions of all countries has an objective foundation and results from the logic of the process of history and from the general identity of social problems. Pitting what is specific against what is universal and, all the more so, neglecting universal laws leads inevitably to voluntarism, A. Werblan stressed, and adversely affects the social-liberation struggle and socialist construction. This is because the moment socialism becomes practice nothing but the experience of really existing socialism can be used as a yardstick of verifying the ideas about the new system. Thanks to its analysis we are able to tell the scientific generalization of the social process from the deformations arising because of nationalism and from the illusions which result from shortsightedness, which are often supplied by bourgeois ideologs and which, depending on circumstances, assume rightist-opportunist or pseudoleftist-extremist shapes. At times these deformations constitute a unique combination of rightism and recklessness as sadly attested to by Peking's policy both during Mao's life and after Mao, A. Werblan noted.

The cooperation between the Polish and Russian revolutionary movements and the present Polish-Soviet relations attest to the transforming strength of internationalism and its close links with patriotism and the dialectical unity of class and national rights.

Prof. A. Werblan then discussed the issue of democracy, which occupies a key place in the theory and practice of socialism. He pointed out that the superiority of socialist democracy over all previous forms of democracy has been reaffirmed also in Poland by the unprecedented advance of the millions and millions of people, especially workers class and peasants, by the opening of extensive prospects for younger generations. He expressed the view that socialist democracy must create new forms of political life, utilizing progressive traditions while transmuting and enriching them.

The specific forms of political institutions are different in the individual socialist countries, but they are based on the same principles. One of the characteristic features of socialist democracy is its unifying orientation in contrast to the so-called pluralistic forms of political life which provide for differentiation and rivalry among the groupings representing the individual classes and social tendencies.

Recalling Polish experience in the field of pluralistic democracy, A. Werblan said that the political system which is now in force in our country and which in its nature embodies the principles that are universal for all socialist countries, while utilizing the best Polish traditions, is consistent with the needs of our system and our society. This system creates conditions for an extensive participation of the masses in government, for discussing and perfecting the decisions to be adopted and, in case of error, for suitably correcting them. The really existing differentiation of views and the wealth of initiatives can assert themselves, but these differences are not institutionalized--they are leveled off thanks to the application of the solutions which are consistent with the interests of the working people and which lead to a maximum unity of society.

We know, A. Werblan said, that the progressive circles in the West are considering various hypotheses concerning the forms of democracy in the conditions of the transition to socialism. We respect these searches, but we take the view that the valuation and, all the more so, the criticism of real socialism from the position of these hypotheses, which have not been verified in practice, is not right. This can be of no cognitive or ideological use and certainly harms the common cause--the cause of socialism and peace.

In conclusion A. Werblan characterized socialism as a society of liberated labor constituting the chief condition for insuring for man the right to a worthy life consistent with the very nature of man. He also recalled that the foundations of socialism had been constructed and the conditions for building a developed socialist society had been created in Poland. The distinctive feature of the present stage of our country's development, he said, is the ever closer dovetailing of the economic, social and ideomoral problems, of the structure of production and the model of consumption, of economic and social effectiveness, of production militancy and of moral attitudes.

CSO: 2600

ALBANIA

MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES SEND AWP ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

German Party Message to Hoxha

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany, Comrade Ernst Aust, chairman of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany, has sent the following telegram of greetings to Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, and the AWP Central Committee:

Honorable comrades, on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the glorious AWP, the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany sends to you and through you to all the party and the Albanian people its most cordial greetings and militant fraternal salutations.

The founding of the Albanian Communist Party on 8 November 1941 is a decisive turning point in the history of the Albanian people. It was only under its leadership that during the national liberation struggle the Albanian people were able to defeat the fascist Italian-German occupiers, march toward the victory of the people's revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The formerly most backward country in Europe became the illuminating beacon of socialism.

Through its successes in building socialism and its principled foreign policy the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is now enjoying a high authority in the world and has many friends. The AWP has defended Albania's freedom and national independence, which have been won by bloodshed, against all the internal and external enemies, imperialism and reaction, by constantly revolutionizing the life of the people, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, educating all the people in Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and by steeling the unbreakable unity between the party and the people.

The AWP stood in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism to defend Marxism-Leninism. The AWP, loyal to the end to the principles of proletarian internationalism, stood firm for the unity of the world

Marxist-Leninist movement and unreservedly supported the new Marxist-Leninist parties born in the struggle against modern revisionism. The firm Marxist-Leninist friendship between the AWP and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany has also been tempered in the same struggle.

Our party will always support the Marxist-Leninist line of the AWP recently elaborated at its seventh congress. The report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this congress has become a demarcation line between the true Marxist-Leninists and all the revisionists and opportunists.

Through the article "The theory and the Practice of the Revolution" [presumably the 7 July 1977 ZERI I POPULLIT EDITORIAL] the AWP has furthered the struggle against the revisionist theory of three worlds. It rejected it and showed to all the Marxist-Leninists that the road to winning in the revolution and in the struggle against imperialism--especially against the two superpowers, U. S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism--and all the reactionaries is the loyal and unflinching adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

For our party, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Germany, the AWP is an illuminating example in our struggle for a socialist, united and independent Germany.

Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Long live the AWP led by Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Italian Party Message to Hoxha

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Italy, Comrade Fosco Dinucci has sent the following telegram of greetings to Comrade Enver Hoxha and the AWP Central Committee:

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the AWP, we send you fraternal internationalist greetings and wishes for further successes.

Canadian Party Message to Central Committee

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU

[Text] The National Executive Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Canada has sent the following telegram of greetings to the AWP Central Committee:

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the great AWP, please accept our evolutionary sincere greetings. With the founding of the AWP, formerly the Communist Party of Albania, began the brightest era in the history of the Albanian people who, despite being small in number, have been distinguished in history in the past and at present. They stand in the forefront of the nations in the struggle against any brand of imperialism and revisionism, in the forefront of the struggle for the lofty and vital cause of the freedom of nations and for the great cause of the revolution and communism.

Our party has always harbored great respect for the glorious AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary and founder of the AWP. The AWP has always been guided only by Marxism-Leninism. The source of its inexhaustible strength lies in its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, its prudence and farsightedness and its courage and determination to overcome all difficulties and obstacles in order to advance with firm belief. The AWP has always been able to elaborate and find the right path in all situations.

The Seventh AWP Congress and the report delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this congress made an extraordinary contribution to the further strengthening of the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

Our party greets the glorious AWP and it learns from its advanced experience in order to apply it in the concrete conditions of Canada. We preserve and highly prize the development of the unity between our two parties, the AWP and the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Canada.

Long live the 36th anniversary of the founding of the AWP!

Long live the militant unity between the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Canada and the AWP!

Long live the glorious AWP!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Portuguese-Albanian Friendship Society Greeting

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 77 AU

[Text] The Portuguese-Albanian Friendship Society has sent the following greeting telegram to the AWP Central Committee:

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of your leading, farsighted and beloved party of the Albanian people, we convey warm greetings to you.

Long live socialist Albania!

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

GIVING NAMES WITH RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE DENOUNCED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Sabah Sinani, teacher in Puke District: "New Personal Names--A Reflection of the Changes Made during the Years of the Party"]

[Text] The giving of names which are completely new in comparison with the past is a result of the transformations which have been made in our country in all areas of life. Religion and the code of Leke Dukagjini [the law of the mountains] once influenced the giving of names in our villages and mountains, but today many old names with religious, backward content are being replaced with new names. To examine this problem more closely, a study was made of the names given in the villages of Kabash and Qelez in Puke District during the period 1961-1976. This period was divided into two subperiods: the first subperiod was until 1967, the year when Comrade Enver gave his historic address on 6 February when revolutionary initiatives against remnants of religion spread and when mountain cooperatives were created. The second subperiod extended until 1976.

Of the 184 names given in the village of Qelez before 1967, many had religious content. They were linked to names of saints and religious festivals. There were such names as Ndue [Anthony], Pjeter [Peter], Pashk [Easter] and so on. If we look at the names registered after 1967, we find that in some cases there are names of the earlier years, but the giving of entirely new names is characteristic. Thus 60 completely new names were given in Qelez, and 85, in Kabash. And it is significant that these names were not given by relying on former religious beliefs, but we find many names in both villages. The struggle led by the party against religious ideology, the great and constant work of persuasion has made the masses aware that backward customs and religious beliefs which appear under various forms and ways (including the giving of personal names) must be combatted constantly every day. Such names as Gezim [joy], Besnik [faithful], Fatmir [good luck], Ilir [Illyrian], Pellumb [dove], Shkelqim [brilliance], Skender [Alexander], Shpetim [rescue], Perparim [progress], Ndricim [enlightenment], Clirim [liberation] and so on, which we now find dispersed through our villages, are names of the times, names which are linked to the good things which the party has brought to the homes of the mountaineers.

Also for girls, who once were given names like Sose [end], Shkurte [short], Loshe [crybaby] which embody the disparaging and scornful attitude of religious precepts and religion toward women, today beautiful Albanian names are chosen such as Shpresa [hope], Fatmire [good luck], Lindita, Vjollca [violet], Merita [merit], Bukurie [beauty], and so on. Thus the parents associate the names of their boys and girls with light, joy, flowers, with the new and happy life. These names embody the joy and optimism due to the transformations made in the mountain regions during the party years and the faith that their sons and daughters will experience even happier days.

But the good results in this area must not cause us to become complacent since it happens that old things are still preserved in the name of new things. There are occasions when the name is chosen in such a way that a new name is registered in the records while the name of the saint remains in daily use. Some parents give one name for civil use and another name is used at home. When asked why they do so, they give the following explanations: "It's traditional," "half of the time he is called by one name and half, by the other, so we too call him this" and so on. This shows that the pressure of religion, of the remnants of the past, still are active in these families, while they correctly tend toward the new and do this for the sake of what other people think. The fact that in Qelez, even after 1967, religious and mocking names were given to girls shows that the mass organizations and the schools must strengthen and deepen their ideological-political work.

Another important problem linked with the bestowing of names is also the fact that they come from sources in our country. In this area it is known that outside powers have had negative influences in the past. But in the two villages which we mentioned the names generally are taken from domestic sources. They encompass all periods of time, from the earliest times as seen by Ilir, Arben [Albanian], Skender, and so forth, up to the present day. In a survey which we made with parents on this question, they responded: "We have given such names because we have respect for the history of our people"; "Bearing such names, the children learn the history of our ancestors and are educated in the love of the fatherland and the people"; "we associate today's new names with the heroism of the days of the party, with the names of patriots who fought for freedom and progress and we hope that our children will keep the names of heroes of war and of work so that they will follow them in work and in life."

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'L'UNITA' NOTES CHARTER 77 PROTEST TO CSSR PARLIAMENT

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 11 Nov 77 p 13 LD

[Unattributed Report: "'Charter 77' Letter to Prague Parliament"]

[Text] Vienna-The Czechoslovak movement centered on the "Charter 77" document has sent a letter to the Prague Federal Assembly protesting against the recent sentencing of four dissident intellectuals.

Ladislav Hejdanek, one of the three spokesmen for "Charter 77," has said that the letter calls on the Federal Assembly to examine the records of the trial to see whether the four accused (playwright Vaclav Havel, journalist Jiri Lederer and former theater directors Frentisek Pavlicek and Otto Ornест) were treated in accordance with the law. The "Charter 77" spokesman explained that the letter, sent last week, denies that the four dissidents (sentenced to periods ranging from a 14 months' suspended sentence to 3 years 6 months' imprisonment) tried to send subversive material abroad, since the material in question did not in fact contravene the law of the Czechoslovak state. The letter also stresses, the "Charter 77" spokesman continues, that at no point during the trial was the content of the material defined as "subversive" adequately discussed and examined by the court.

The letter of protest was also signed by the other "Charter 77" spokesmen, former foreign minister Jiri Hajek and the former singer Marta Kubisova.

CSO: 3104

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK DAILIES SCORE RFE AS CIA INSTRUMENT

[Editorial report AU] Prague RUDE PRAVO and MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 12 November carry articles scoring the activity of Radio Free Europe [RFE] and Radio Liberty. In a RUDE PRAVO report, Dusan Rovensky, under the heading "International Symposium: The Information Media and the Struggle for Peace; Free Europe in the Pillory," reports on the international symposium held in Orivesi, Finland, on 10-11 November, at which representatives of 19 countries condemned RFE and Radio Liberty--funded from the U.S. state budget--for pursuing ideological subversion against the peaceful development of the world. Rovensky notes that proofs were submitted to the symposium of the transmitters' subversive ideological activity, which runs counter to international agreements signed by the U.S. Government and also to the Helsinki Final Document. Also, the FRG Government violates international agreements by allowing the transmitters on its territory, among others the treaties concluded with the USSR, the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, Rovensky says, adding: "All the leading workers of so-called Free Europe are either employees or collaborators of U.S. espionage services, especially the CIA." He stresses that despite the denial by the chairman of the American Foreign Broadcasting Board of any involvement by CIA agents in the transmitters' activity, at least 18 agents of the CIA and other U.S. espionage services are still working at the Munich stations. One of them is R. N. Bachstein, deputy director of the analytical department, who from 1968-1970 paid several visits with subversive intent to the CSSR and in 1976, with the help of Austrian citizen Peter Millar, tried to establish contact with former rightwing representatives in Brno and Prague. Rovensky further mentions Keith Bush, who worked at the Langley CIA headquarters and graduated from the Garmisch-Partenkirchen intelligence school, and Hugo Elboth and Samuel Lyon of the American military intelligence service.

In a MLADA FRONTA article titled: "Against Helsinki, Against Belgrade, Against Everyone: A Relic of the Past; Looking Into the Cards of Anti-communism," Zdenek Hrabica traces the history of RFE since its beginnings in 1951, with emphasis on the constant CIA leadership and the constant aim of subversion despite changes in the methods used. Among the CIA agents

active in RFE, MLADA FRONTA mentions--besides Bachstein--Dr Jur Albert Bolter, former employee with the so-called covert actions department at CIA headquarters in Langley, and points out that Hugo Elboth, originally named Eibl and born in Plzen, has worked with the CIA since 1939 and is a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army. Hrabica notes that RFE also employs war criminals such as Ladislav Niznansky and V. N. Wishnevskiy, whose original name was L. N. Laponov.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PELIKAN INTERVIEWED ON PRAGUE TRIAL

Paris POLITIQUE HEBDO in French 31 Oct - 6 Nov 77 pp 27-28

[Interview with Jiri Pelikan, Manager of LISTY Magazine by A. P. Lentini]

[Text] Indicted by the neo-Stalinist authorities who have just carried out a travesty of justice in Prague against four litigant intellectuals (see P.H. of 24 October), our friend, Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television and current manager of the magazine, LISTY, organ of the Socialist opposition, answered his slanderers during a press conference held in Paris. The press conference was sponsored by the "International Committee Against Repression." He granted the following interview to POLITIQUE HEBDO.

POLITIQUE HEBDO: While the recent Prague trial reflects certain internal contradictions on the part of the team that governs Czechoslovakia, does it not also reflect far greater contradictions within the entire Eastern world?

Jiri Pelikan: These contradictions are related only to the extent that all the governments of the countries in the "European glacis of the USSR" are greatly "satellized" by the Soviet government. In Czechoslovakia, the burden of Soviet occupation seems to be becoming heavier again. A single example: At the very moment when the USSR delegate to the Belgrade Conference On Security and Cooperation In Europe was denouncing "foreign interference" in the domestic affairs of Czechoslovakia by Western powers, Czechoslovak policemen were conducting interrogations of dissidents in Prague, in the presence of Soviet "advisers"...

Having said this, one must not underestimate either the existence of certain contradictions among the Soviet leaders, themselves, in Moscow, or contradictions of secondary importance within the entire "Soviet bloc." What is also certain is that these contradictions become sharper as the popular pressures of the opposition increase.

Well, in Czechoslovakia, these pressures are so great that Husak's back is against the wall. He had to accept the option of a still more brutal repression, which indicates most of all the weakness of his government. Whereas Gierek in Poland and Kadar in Hungary freed some opponents before the opening of the Belgrade conference, Husak scheduled the Prague trial at the very moment when violations concerning human rights were being discussed in the Yugoslav capital.

Perhaps Husak--and even more so leaders like Strougal or Kempny--unlike Bilak, would have preferred to avoid such a coincidence. But doubtless they did not have a choice or, more precisely, the "tough men" in the Kremlin did not allow them a choice...

[Question] What can one say of the Prague trial, itself?

[Answer] Several comments may be made. The hearings lasted only one and one-half days, whereas at the outset they were to continue for three days. The authorities had programmed a complete, orchestrated propaganda campaign, especially on television, to coincide with the trial. However, the latter ended by not being very spectacular. And the sentences, in the end, were lighter than had been anticipated. When all is said and done, one gets the impression that the Prague trial was botched. And one may speculate that perhaps Brejnev ordered his Czechoslovak vassals "to stop this useless pursuit" when he concluded that this whole affair was causing him many more difficulties than he had imagined: additional diplomatic complications, public opinion campaigns against the violation of human rights in communist countries, etc. One will never be able to sufficiently stress the importance of the support that international public opinion can give to the struggles of the democratic opposition, especially in Czechoslovakia.

[Question] What is the current status of this position?

[Answer] It is increasing in worker circles as well as in intellectual circles. The text of the "1977 Charter" has been circulated in factories. When a pop concert was banned by the local authorities in a provincial locality, one saw how the young workers seized every kind of opportunity to manifest their protests: demonstrations, brawls with the police, mass arrests, and fifteen convictions.

An entire "parallel culture" is developing, which is expressed in clandestine newspapers, in clandestine books, such as those published by EDITIONS SOUS LES VERROUS [EDITIONS UNDER LOCK AND KEY] and that are circulated secretly.

In the beginning, the authorities were somewhat tolerant toward these Czechoslovak "Samizdat," because they were circulated only in restricted circles but, after certain of them were published abroad, the official attitude changed. Today, within the framework of a general offensive against the "1977 Charter," an attempt is being made to "criminalize" the parallel culture. When banned works are found, they are confiscated and their authors are arrested.

One must add that every day new names are added to the long lists of intellectuals who have been imprisoned, prosecuted, punished professionally (for example, 180 journalists already have been excluded from the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists) and hundreds of signers of the "1977 Charter" have lost their jobs.

It must be added that one of the most terrible, the most scandalous aspects--and still the least known in Western Europe--of this repression is its extension to the families of dissenters. In Czechoslovakia, the parents of dissenters are also victims of discrimination and of professional persecution and sometimes their children are even deprived of access to education.

Our role under these circumstances--I am thinking in particular of the magazine, LISTY, which presents to world opinion this Czechoslovak "parallel culture" of which I just spoke--is all the more important since censorship in Prague is worse than in all the other countries of Eastern Europe, including the USSR. For example, one is not allowed to read DOCTOR JIVAGO in Moscow, but one can find other works by Pasternak in bookstores. In Prague, when a writer is considered to be a "dissident," all of his works, including nonpolitical ones, are banned. Some of Lenin's SELECTED WORKS may not be sold because the person who translated the Russian into Czechoslovak was judged to be "in opposition"...

Our task is difficult, all the more because the result of our independence is poverty, and because our financial means are limited. That is why I am appealing to all our friends to help LISTY; issue No 5, French edition, has just been published. (All correspondence and subscriptions [may be addressed] to: Jean-Jacques Marie, apartment 2A2, 111, Reuilly Street, 75012 Paris. C.C.P Paris 15 872 89 V.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MAOIST PAPER INTERVIEWS PALLAS, WIFE AFTER FORCED EXILE

Stockholm GNISTAN in Swedish 28 Oct 77 pp 10-11

[Interview with Jiri Pallas and Jitka Bidlasova: "They Led the Opposition That Never Existed--But Always Exists"]

[Text] Two weeks ago, Jiri Pallas, his wife Jitka Bidlasova, and their 2-year-old son left occupied Czechoslovakia with one-way tickets from Prague to Stockholm in their pockets.

Jiri and Jitka were leading organizers of the underground music movement in Czechoslovakia. This is a movement which gathers thousands of people under the most fantastic covers: garden societies, firemen's clubs, etc.

The underground society for "All Bierman adherents of Czechoslovakia" is named Safran, but that is all the government knows about it.

"Safran has never been found, but it always exists," Jiri says with a laugh.

Question: Tell us what has happened to you since you signed Charter 77 in January of this year.

Jitka: Jiri immediately lost his job as a technician in an industrial firm. Prior to 1973, he worked as a sound technician in TV. I was a clerk in a bakery on the outskirts of Prague. An attempt was made to fire me and give me a job on the assembly line in a plant in another part of Prague, at a commuting distance of 1 1/2 hours from our home. We have a 2-year-old boy and expect another child. I refused to take the job. According to the labor law I had the right to stay home with my child without being dismissed, so that they were never able to discharge me formally.

SAPO Man Gave Us Support

Jiri: My friends and neighbors said nobody could object to human rights. Many of them warned me against signing, however, for the sake of my family. "It is like putting your head of the block," they said. But many encouraged me. One of them said, "Everything said in the charter is true. I know that best; I worked at the Security Police."

After a time, I was called in to be interrogated by the police. They took my driver's license, the registration documents for my car, my internal passport (GNISTAN note: in Czechoslovakia, as in South America, everybody must carry a domestic passport) and other documents. To get back my internal passport, I had to pay a fee of 500 Czechoslovak crowns (about 250 Swedish kronor.)

Jitka: What we have gone through is nothing special. On the contrary, the treatment in Prague is the mildest. In Ostrava in Slovakia, persons who had signed Charter 77 were immediately expelled from the country. In northern Moravia, the children of signers were driven from day nurseries. The police searched the homes of a couple of our friends. When the police left, it looked as if a bomb had struck the homes. Later, some social workers came around. They wrote down that everything was in order and proposed that the authorities take custody of the children.

Jitka: The police came and got me at 0530 in the morning. They did not care that I could not leave my child. In Ruszeny prison, however, policemen in civilian clothes said they were sorry and let me go, to come back later.

When the police questions a signer of the Charter they soon discover that we know the law. SAMIZDAT (underground literature) contains a handbook on how to act during questioning. The questioners are stumped when they get answers such as: "According to paragraph such and such, you are not permitted to ask me that question." "I do not have to answer that question," etc.

Jiri: When I was questioned, the police lost their heads. I compared their methods with those used in the sham trials of the 1950's.

Threat of Committment to a Mental Hospital

"Mister Pallas, said the police, "We either throw you in prison or exile you from the country. Or we put you in a mental hospital for 6 months for observation. We can arrange it in half an hour."

"It is not that simple," I replied. "You need a doctor's certificate, and you can commit me for only 2 months. After that, I am sent home."

Question: What is the attitude of workers and lower civil servants to the Charter?

Jitka: Among the first 270 signers there were some workers and civil servants. That share increased among the 500 who signed later. Many of them did not sign, but cooperated and distributed the Charter.

The Charter has carried with it an important change. Formerly, many felt like criminals if they opposed the regime in any way. The Charter has taught them that it is those in power who are lawless. We are the ones who fight for the rights prescribed by the law. People feel stronger now.

Question: Have all those who signed the Charter now lost their jobs?

Jitka: In Czechoslovakia all are by law guaranteed the right to work. Officially, there are no unemployed, and there is no such thing as unemployment insurance.

When people lose their jobs, their only chance is to take temporary jobs for a couple of weeks or at most a month, which is the trial period. Then the police make them stop.

Formerly, it was common for dissidents to be punished with manual work. A strange "punishment" in a "workers' state." The regime discovered, however, that the dissidents adjusted well to their new jobs. They received decent pay and obtained new contacts. The method now is to assign them to jobs regarded as "debasing," such as dishwashing, janitor work, etc. The aim is to drive people into exile.

Question: You were active in a group called Safran. What did it do?

Jiri: Safran is not a group but a society of independent singers and musical groups, not supported by the regime. There are several such groups, the Plastic People, for example.

Since it was put on trial, the Plastic People has become known in the West. Some time ago, a concert was given in a house outside Prague belonging to Jan Princ, one of the members of the group. All windows were bricked in. Suddenly explosions were heard. The police stormed the house and arrested 10 of the 80 people present. The police had obviously arranged the explosions as a pretext for entering the house.

Jan Princ was charged with "disturbing the peace." After strong protests, this was changed to "contributing to disturbing the peace." Outside, 150 persons then asked the police for permission to demonstrate outside the Ministry of Justice. The answer was neither yes nor no. When the day of the demonstration came the Ministry of Justice building was surrounded by the police. It had not been necessary for people to demonstrate; the police did it for them.

We were also supported by 130 Poles, who turned in a letter to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Warsaw. The activities of the police were comparable to those of the Gestapo. After 2 1/2 months under arrest, Princ was sentenced to 3 months in prison. This was clear evidence of the importance of international solidarity.

It can be said that Safran is a society for all Biermen adherents in Czechoslovakia, people who do not have official permission to perform. They do not appear on TV or radio, but a couple of times they have succeeded in publishing a couple of records due to the disorder in the bureaucracy.

Secret Concerts

Jaroslav Hutka, a very popular singer, whom Safran has worked with, sings, among other things, a song about a journalist early in this century, who was imprisoned by the police of the Hapsburg monarchy. The journalist's name was Havlicek, meaning Little Havel. The allusion to the Charter 77 man, Vaclav Havel was plain to all.

The authorities have now put out a secret circular, naming all persons not permitted to perform anywhere in public. At the state recording company, Suprafon, investigation is now underway into how a few "critical" records could have been issued.

Despite the persecution, Safran arranges many concerts throughout the country. A firemen's club, a society of garden owners, a nature protection organization, or something equally innocent, applies to the police for permission to have a "cultural feature" in connection with a regular meeting. As a rule, permission is granted, the authorities believing that "Young Pioneers" or a similar organization are to perform. In the country districts 200 to 300 persons will often attend. Many of Safran's artists perform several times a week. Safran has not been dissolved. It has never been found, but it is always there, we say.

Question: What kind of music is played underground in Czechoslovakia?

Jiri: Hutka, for example, is not a professional guitarist. His strength lies in the words of his songs and his contact with the audience. Last year, a poll was taken to determine who was Czechoslovakia's most popular singer. Hutka was number two, and the poll could therefore not be published. Hutka sings old folk songs of the 1600's and 1700's dealing with the struggle against the rulers and the devil, and his own songs are in the same style, but with topical contents.

Question: Can it be said the dissident culture has already become dominant in Czechoslovakia?

Jiri: No. Do not forget that Czechoslovakia is a consumer society, of the same type as those of the West, and that the regime has all mass media at its disposal. The majority of Czechoslovakia is not yet interested in the dissident culture.

But books published by the underground are more widely read than those officially published. The SAMIZDAT editions are printed in more copies than are official editions. A popular book in circulation may be read by at least 50 persons in 20 days. Several tens of thousands read Ludvik Vaculik's serials in SAMIZDAT.

As concerns music, the regime's most popular performer, Karel Gott, is sold in 100,000 editions. The records Hutka has succeeded in having distributed through the state recording company sell, without any kind of advertising in 20,000 to 30,000 editions. This is more than all the rock groups that have the approval of the regime.

The last culture festival we arranged was visited by 20,000 persons. In July of this year, a concert was given in Pezinok in Slovakia, attended by 5,000 persons. And it is not the same people who attend each concert.

Question: Officially, Czechoslovakia is a "socialist workers' state." How would you describe your country?

Jiri: I do not know enough about political theory to say whether Czechoslovakia is "Stalinist" or "fascist," but I know that I do not live in a classless society.

Those up There

It is "those up there" who have the power. A small number of family clans, or "the upper 10,000" as we call them. If one is a dissident, one is a member of the lowest stratum, without rights. If one has relatives abroad there is a ceiling upon how far one can get. Party membership is always a prerequisite to advancement, but only the corrupt upper stratum has all rights. And at the very top, one finds the Soviet leadership, which runs things.

Members of "The Ten Thousand" have every opportunity to enrich themselves at the cost of others. Automobiles, color TV sets, summer cabins, are at their disposal free of charge, but above all, they possess absolute power. At the companies the managers can write out "prizes" of 50,000 Czechoslovak crowns for workers who have distinguished themselves in "socialist competition." Actually, they are bribes.

Five Hundred Crowns, Please

Corruption extends all the way down. When Jitka was committed to a hospital, the physician said, "That will be 500 crowns. You can pay the nurse." According to the law, all medical care is free!

Anti-Semitism is also common. In RUDE PRAVO it is common trick to designate opponents as "Zionists," "Jew" not being used, although that is what is meant. Frantisek Kriegel, for example, has been called a "Zionist," but everybody knows they refer to his Jewish birth.

Question: What role is played by the Soviet occupation authorities in today's Czechoslovakia?

Jiri: Ordinarily, they are not seen. The soldiers are quartered outside the cities and keep much to themselves. To the Soviet Union it is of no consequence if the Czech police have to do the job. On the contrary, they are happy not to have to do it. The main point is that the people know they are there and can interfere if things go as in Poland, with strikes and demonstrations. The presence of the Soviets thus has a great psychological effect on the people.

Question: What is your comment on the trials which are underway. Otto Ornест, one of those accused, has pleaded guilty to "revolutionary activities."

Jiri: If smuggling out to foreign countries some historical and literary documents constitutes "revolutionary activity," then he is guilty. But I ask you not to believe what is said in Prague. Otto Ornест is a sick man who has been treated very cruelly by the police.

The same journalists who now write accusatory articles about Ornест and other accused persons, in the 1950's wrote against Slansky and Ota Sling, who were executed for unproven crimes. This applies, for example, to Stanislav Oborsky, RUDE PRAVO journalist. I am happy to say, however, that Oborsky's son has signed Charter 77.

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EAST GERMANY

HONECKER GREETS 'COMRADE' NETO ON ANGOLAN ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Nov 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Dr Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA and president of the People's Republic of Angola. Luanda.

Esteemed comrade president: On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR I convey to you, the MPLA Central Committee and the Angolan people most cordial congratulations on the second anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, which is living with our state in cordial anti-imperialist solidarity.

The party and state leadership as well as the people of the GDR follow with deep sympathy the heroic struggle of the people of Angola under the tested leadership of the MPLA for strengthening its national independence and for building a new society. I wish the MPLA and the Angolan people further successes in this struggle.

I am certain that the traditional close friendly ties between our parties, states and peoples on the basis of the joint anti-imperialist struggle for peace, detente, international security and social progress will further develop and deepen to mutual advantage.

I wish you, esteemed comrade president, creative energy and personal well-being in your responsible work for the benefit of the Angolan people.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed on the same occasion congratulations to Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento, premier of the People's Republic of Angola.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SED'S MITTAG INTERVIEWED ON VISIT TO ALGERIA 14-17 OCTOBER

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 46, 1977 signed to press 7 Nov 77
pp 5-6 AU

[Interview with Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary on his visit to Algeria 14-17 October as head of a GDR party-government delegation--time and place of interview not specified]

[Text [Question] In mid-October you led a party-government delegation to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria (DPRA). What were the aims of this trip?

[Answer] The GDR party-government delegation visited the DPRA from 14-17 October 1977 at the invitation of the Algerian Government. The main purpose of our trip was to quantitatively and qualitatively expand the traditional close comradely cooperation of the two countries in all fields, in the political, economic and cultural-scientific field. This spirit was also reflected in the personal message which I conveyed to President Boumediene on behalf of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. As is customary among friends, we wanted to utilize the visit to inform our Algerian partners about some aspects of the socialist revolution in the GDR, and at the same time familiarize ourselves with the revolutionary changes in Algeria. Moreover, we wanted to have an extensive exchange of opinion with the Algerian leaders about problems of international politics and to jointly discuss what contribution could be made by both countries toward continuing the process of detente and making peace in the world more secure.

[Question] How do you assess the results of the visit? What impetus will it have for the development of bilateral relations?

[Answer] I believe that together with our Algerian comrades we can assess our delegation's visit as positive, since results useful for both sides were obtained. We had an extensive exchange of opinions on bilateral relations. This exchange clearly showed the joint interest in dynamically further

developing our cooperation in all fields, and in substantially expanding it. Close, friendly relations have existed for a long time between the SED and the National Liberation Front (FLN), relations which were reflected among other things in the fact that FLN delegations attended our party congresses. In Algiers I had friendly talks with Mohammed Cherif Messaadia, who is in charge of the FLN party apparatus. On this occasion we discussed the further development and intensification of cooperation between the SED and the FLN as well as the further shaping of the relations between the social organizations. As a result of our comprehensive exchange of opinions we signed an agreement on cooperation between the SED and the FLN.

As a result of the negotiations, I and DPRA Finance Minister Seodik Benyahia, head of the Algerian delegation, signed an agreement on further developing the economic, industrial and scientific-technical relations between the GDR and the DPRA. This is an extraordinarily important document which will decisively influence the development of the relations between the two states until the second half of the 1980's. With this agreement great possibilities of mutually supplementing our two national economies will be utilized. The agreement insures a mutually adopted useful development of cooperation. The shaping of our economic relations with equal rights and based on the principle of mutual advantage is a fundamental element in our cooperation on an international scale. This principle has again been fully implemented by the signed agreement.

These results were, of course, only possible on the solid foundation of the past successful development of our relations with the DPRA. The GDR has proved to be an efficient and reliable partner.

The Berrouaghia Castings and Fittings Combine built by the GDR in Algeria was repeatedly assessed by the Algerian side as a significant example of the high scientific-technological standard of the GDR machine-building industry.

In this context it has been repeatedly emphasized that GDR specialists, side by side with Algerian colleagues, have successfully accomplished a great achievement and that Algerian engineers, masters and skilled workers were now able to take over the operation of a highly modern industrial complex on their own. Both sides agreed in the negotiations to continue on a higher level this successful collaboration in industrial cooperation as well as in training Algerian cadres. Thus the GDR will next year participate in the construction of industrial plants, set up training centers in Algeria, and train young Algerian citizens at GDR higher and technical schools.

[Question] During your stay you had meetings with Houari Boumediene, president of the DPRA and chairman of the Revolutionary Council and other prominent DPRA figures. There have been extensive press reports on this. What were the topics of these talks?

[Answer] As I have told you already, I had the opportunity to convey to Houari Boumediene, president of the DPRA, a personal message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. This message stresses the sympathy and respect which the GDR people feel for the far-reaching social transformations in Algeria which were and are being implemented by the revolutionary forces under the leadership of Houari Boumediene. At the same time the message reaffirms the sincere friendship and close solidarity between our parties, states and peoples, and expresses the certainty that the relations between our countries will further deepen in the interest of the joint struggle to preserve and strengthen peace in the world. During the very cordial and friendly meeting, we were again able to note the concurrence of views between the GDR and the DPRA on the decisive questions of international politics. This applies especially to problems of the struggle for peace security and detente, against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The GDR's close solidarity with the revolutionary forces in the world is well known in Algeria and is regarded as an important contribution to strengthening the anti-imperialist alliance between the socialist states and the nationally liberated countries.

I had the opportunity to inform Houari Boumediene about the great efforts of our republic's working people to implement the ambitious tasks set by the Ninth SED Congress in building the developed socialist society. In our talk the Algerian president reaffirmed his high appreciation of the great achievements of the GDR people in socialist construction. I was deeply impressed by the great cordiality and sympathy with which the Algerian president spoke of the socialist GDR. In the course of our very open-minded and friendly talk, Houari Boumediene outlined the DPRA's topical domestic and foreign political development. At the same time he paid tribute to the good and successful balance sheet of the relations between the GDR and the DPRA and stressed the great prospects for their substantial expansion. We jointly discussed very extensively ways and means of reaching a new, higher level in the cooperation between the GDR and the DPRA.

During my visit I also met Rabah Bitat, chairman of Algeria's National People's Assembly, and this talk was also attended by the deputy chairmen of the National People's Assembly Layachi Yaker and Mahmoud Guennez. We exchanged opinions about the international situation and discussed experiences and possibilities of cooperation between our two countries including the development of parliamentary relations.

Moreover, I had meetings with Minister of Finance Seddik Benyahia, Minister of Heavy Industry Mohamed Liassine and Minister of Trade Mohamed Hadj Yala. These talks passed in an extraordinarily friendly climate and were marked by the firm determination to develop new opportunities and prospects of cooperation.

[Question] You certainly also had an opportunity to familiarize yourself with topical questions and problems of the DPRA's social development. Can you comment briefly on this?

[Answer] Despite the brevity of my stay I had the opportunity to familiarize myself with a number of topical questions of Algeria's social development. I gladly comply with your request to comment briefly on this. The DPRA leadership is focusing its efforts on the consolidation of political and economic independence and the strengthening of the state power, as well as the mobilization of the working masses to support the adopted progressive road of development.

Through the nationalization of foreign capital a state sector developed in the 1960's and early 1970's. This sector is being continually expanded through the creation of new enterprises in the framework of the policy of industrialization. Today it already includes 70 percent of the country's entire production capacity.

The "Agrarian revolution" proclaimed in 1971 speeded up the social transformation of the countryside. The principal aim of the agrarian reform is the expropriation of large estate owners and of the village bourgeoisie, the acquisition and cultivation of wasteland and the establishment of cooperatives. So far about 1.6 million hectares of land have been distributed to peasants having little or no land of their own, and about 6,000 cooperatives of various types have been founded. Just as in the socialist countries, in the DPRA the state has a foreign trade and foreign currency monopoly. Great transformations are underway also in the social sector. Thus the country's working people are given free education and medical care.

Measures have been initiated to gradually solve the housing problem.

Algeria aims at a social system that is free of exploitation and it therefore rejects a capitalist development. In foreign policy the Algerian leadership is pursuing an anti-imperialist and anticolonialist policy and is seeking close cooperation with the nationally liberated countries, the socialist states and all progressive forces.

[Question] You have outlined some fundamental trends of Algeria's social development. As we know, you inspected the Berrouaghia Castings and Fittings Combine. What impression did you gain during your visit and the talks with Algerian and GDR experts?

[Answer] It was a great experience for the members of our delegation to see how a modern industrial complex has been established in the middle of an agricultural area in the Atlas Mountains region. It is the aim of the DPRA government to strengthen the [country's] independence through this and many other industrial projects, and to train Algerian skilled workers, masters and engineers. The Berrouaghia Castings and Fittings Combine was built jointly with the GDR, and production was started punctually at 106 percent

of the planned capacity. These results were achieved because our skilled workers, masters and engineers, some of whom participated for 3 years with their families in building this plant, accomplished great achievements, often under complicated working and living conditions to which they were not accustomed, and because they supported our Algerian friends from the very first day in every respect. This applies to the thorough training of 200 Algerian skilled workers, masters and engineers in the GDR as well as to the good cooperation in the joint construction of this plant. We can be certain that putting the Berrouaghia Castings and Fittings Combine successfully into operation constitutes a good starting base for further industrial projects that have been agreed on by the two countries.

[Question] For a long time there have been close, friendly relations between the GDR and the DPRA. How have these relations contributed toward passing on information about the GDR? How is the GDR, its development and its policy assessed in the DPRA?

[Answer] I was extraordinarily impressed by the degree of respect and esteem with which my Algerian interlocutors spoke of the GDR. It was very pleasant for us to note that even outside the capital of Algiers the GDR is well known and that we have made many true friends in Algeria. For a long time close and friendly relations have existed between our two countries. They are rooted in the GDR's support of the Algerian people's anti-imperialist struggle. This active solidarity has not been forgotten. On the contrary, it is still finding its recognition and appreciation today, just as is, for example, the GDR's firm position of anti-imperialist solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa against colonialism and apartheid, and with the struggle of the Arab peoples for implementing their legitimate rights.

The consistent peace policy pursued jointly by the community of socialist states headed by the USSR is highly appreciated in the DPRA.

The accomplishments scored in shaping the developed socialist society in our republic are particularly stressed in Algeria. This appreciation is not confined to purely economic results but embraces all sectors of social life such as sports, culture and so on.

Naturally, the work of our embassy in Algiers and of our specialists and experts who are working in the DPRA in various fields have helped shape the positive picture of the GDR. There is much evidence of the close cooperation in both countries.

The stay of Algerian students and working people in our republic, too, is a contribution toward strengthening the friendship and deepening the relations between our two countries. I do not think this interview provides enough opportunity to describe the multi-variousness of the contacts and ties between our states, parties and our peoples.

[Question] With what impressions have you returned from your trip?

[Answer] Four days are naturally not enough to acquaint oneself thoroughly with Algeria, its people, and the country's culture and history. Let me tell you that I was most impressed by what I have seen. Algeria is a state where a dynamic development is underway. The entire country has begun to stir. One notes that things are advancing, the results of the Algerian leadership's struggle for social progress are visible. In short, the DPRA, which is linked with us by bonds of friendship, has turned into a country that is beginning to flourish.

During our stay the Algerian leadership's interest in, as well as the great possibilities of, comprehensively developing the relations between the GDR and DPRA in all fields was evident. The deepening of our cooperation not only benefits our two states and peoples, but at the same time strengthens our anti-imperialist alliance and constitutes a contribution toward further altering the balance of power in favor of the progressive forces in the world.

I would like to mention with gratitude the cordiality and hospitality which was shown to us throughout our stay.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MITTAG STATEMENT UPON ARRIVAL IN JAPAN

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Nov 77 p 2 AU

[Statement made by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on his arrival in Tokyo on 11 November heading a GDR state delegation]

[Text] It is a great pleasure for me, at the head of a GDR state delegation, to visit your beautiful country rich in tradition. Permit me, first of all, to convey the cordial greetings of the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker.

We have come here with the sincere wish to further develop and deepen all relations between our countries on the basis of the progress made since the last visit of a GDR government delegation in 1975. We wish to discuss the great possibilities which we see for this in our talks and negotiations with the members of the Japanese Government, the leading members of the Japan-GDR economic committee, with representatives of the industrialist associations, and with the chairmen of the boards and the presidents of the leading concerns and banks.

It is the declared aim of the GDR Government to purposefully expand all our relations with Japan--and this applies to political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural fields--on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. This desire by our country has already been expressed to the Japanese Government in a memorandum signed by State Council Chairman Erich Honecker on 28 May this year with the help of the good offices of the Chairman of the Japan-GDR Economic Commission Yoshihiro Inayama.

Permit me to stress here particularly the important and successful work already performed by the GDR-Japan and Japan-GDR economic commissions for the promotion and development of foreign trade relations. The efforts of the leading executives on the Japanese side headed by Mr Yoshihiro Inayama are highly appreciated by the GDR state leadership. The international trade center under construction in Berlin and due to be opened at the end of August 1978 as well as the days of technology to be held on this occasion are a fundamental expression for this successful cooperation.

We see many possibilities and interesting prospects for both sides. Japan is a highly industrialized country with an efficient economy. The GDR is an efficient industrial state in the center of Europe with a socialist national economy which is developing in a stable and dynamic manner. I am certain that you know, for example, that the GDR is implementing a comprehensive sociopolitical program for the benefit of our entire people which determines the aim and the contents of the work of the party and state leadership, as well as of the entire population of our country. The expansion of the foreign trade relations of our state is of essential importance for the implementation of this program. Within this framework we regard as essential, for example, a promotion and expansion by both governments of foreign trade, exchange of licenses and scientific-technical cooperation between our two countries and jointly on third markets. The different socioeconomic foundations of our two countries should not hinder us from raising the level of trade and cooperation and from doing reasonable business to mutual advantage. On the contrary, the stable development of the GDR offers many opportunities for this.

As you can see, we have come to your country with the firm intent to sound out many possibilities and to comprehensively further develop the relations between the GDR and Japan. Good relations between the two countries have a positive influence on the process of detente and the improvement of the international situation. They should--and this is our firm conviction--further develop to the advantage of our countries in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

I thank you for the friendly reception accorded today to our delegation upon its arrival. Once more, cordial thanks to the Japan-GDR Economic Commission headed by Mr Inayama and Mr Suzuki for the friendly invitation to visit your country.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SCHOLARS INTERVIEWED ON BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1900 GMT 4 Nov 77 DW

[Excerpt from roundtable discussion by Prof Otto Reinhold, rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; Prof Reimann, Humboldt University, head of the professorial chair for state law; Prof Joachim Krueger, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Institute for International Relations and Hans-Joachim Schulz, department head in the designing section of the Zemag Enterprise, Zeitz; moderator of discussion not identified]

[Text] [Moderator] Silvia Koehler and Petra Neudeck of Zeitz ask whether one country, for example the Soviet Union, can build communism on its own or whether it is necessary for all socialist countries to build communism together.

[Reinhold] Probably this question cannot simply be answered with yes or no. As far as the internal conditions are concerned, the Soviet Union surely will be the only country capable of building the communist society as well, for it has all those potentials in economic and scientific respects which will be necessary for this purpose in the future. But even then a simple yes is not quite clear, for the Soviet Union, too, can build communism only when peace is preserved; and the preservation of peace is possible only through joint action of the socialist community of states. I think that as far as all other socialist countries are concerned, they are not capable of building communism all on their own.

[Moderator] When I read the question, I directly made a note of emphasizing one word, namely, the word one. Can one country, the Soviet Union, and so forth. What kind of country is the Soviet Union? It is not simply a country, it stands for at least 15 union republics which form the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

[Reinhold] It is more than 100 nations and nationalities which participate in this process.

[Moderator] Our listener Brigitte Oettel of Zeitz would like to know whether there will be a uniform structure of the present socialist community of states under communism.

[Reinhold] It is clear, of course, and we are already witnessing this process, that the organization of the evolved socialist society and its subsequent perfection, the building of the communist society, is linked with the rapprochement of the socialist states. This rapprochement is taking place in the economic field, it is taking place in the political sphere and in the intellectual-cultural sector, but surely, the socialist states will continue to exist for a long time in this process of the building of the communist society.

[Schulze] We must keep in mind that the economic basis for the rapprochement of the nations is the socialist social property of production means. The Soviet Union demonstrated in its development that, in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the existing imbalances between the nations must be eliminated and the development level equalized. The Soviet Union demonstrated that to us. All of us in the socialist camp are trying to follow it. It is important, therefore, to locate industries rationally in the socialist community of states.

[Krueger] Lenin pointed out that this process has two sides. First, there is the process of rapprochement and the possibility of full development of individual nations. The Soviet Union is an outstanding example in this respect. Many nations, which in 1917 were to come together to become a nation, as they developed in the course of the process to become one, they developed their national culture and their national conditions.

[Moderator] What will become of the presently existing nations under communism? What will become of the nations which began to develop in the USSR under socialism? Will they continue to exist under communism?

[Riemann] Rapprochement between the nations will continue and there will be a melting process, but this will be a very long-lasting process. I would like to point to the USSR Constitution which states that equal rights of nations are a firm constitutional principle which has been developed in the building of the state. The tested principles of Soviet federation, the living together of union republics on a national basis, have been further anchored in the present constitution to facilitate the process of blossoming nations and their rapprochement on the basis of absolutely equal rights.

[Reinhold] This problem plays a great part in the international dispute. There exist many anticomunist theses, saying that socialism, and even more so, transition from socialism to communism, is eliminating nations, so to speak, turning all nations into a uniform society without nations. This is not the

case at all. I think that the process of rapprochement never aimed at that. All Marxists-Leninists assume according to historical experience that nations, although not in the present form, will exist longer than classes. A society free of classes will be achieved first, and then the nations will disappear. They will play a great part for a long time, and many problems will be solved within a national framework. For us it is a decisive issue to create agreement between international and national interests.

[Moderator] As long as the nations will produce some strength for this development process, they will exist.

[Reinhold] Certainly, it would be absolute nonsense and a very shortsighted policy if we were to renounce this potency in building socialism. We want to ascertain that this will not result in partition and confrontation of individual nations. They must be used for making a contribution to the common element, to shaping and developing the common element.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

MASTERS OF TOMORROW HAILED AT LEIPZIG CENTRAL FAIR OPENING

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1215 GMT 14 Nov 77 DW

[Speech by First Secretary of the FDJ Central Council Egon Krenz at the opening of the Leipzig Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, dear guests! With the opening of the 20th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the 6th performance show of students and young scientists, we are in for a significant social event. This jubilee fair underlines the purposeful demands of youth in our socialist workers' and peasants' state in an impressive manner. It proves what creative achievements the young generation is capable of under the leadership of the party of the working class. It shows the active part youth is taking, side by side with all working people, in the implementation of the program of growth, prosperity, and stability, as adopted by the 9th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The 20 years of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement reflect the straight-lined development from the first central fair in October 1958, where a tractor with pneumatic tires was one of the top exhibits, to this year's jubilee fair at which results of the implementation of tasks out of the state plan and the enterprise plans "Science and Technology" are shown. The young innovators of our republic make an important contribution toward fulfilling the tasks of the national economic plan in socialist competition. We thank you, dear friends, who are displaying your exhibits here in Leipzig, and all other young innovators of our German Democratic Republic for this. Your inventive and persistent endeavor to master science and technology illustrates one of the qualities which distinguish young revolutionaries of our time. You have grasped the word imparted to you by secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, Comrade Erich Honecker, at the 10th FDJ Parliament in order to pilot us on our way: "Work for the weal of all--that is the most important thing in life."

The Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement has developed into an important factor of the intensification of social work. In this movement socialist

teamwork between working youth and the young intelligentsia, combined with the early incorporation of pupils and apprentices, takes shape in an increasingly impressive way. The support of experienced comrades and colleagues, of masters, brigade chiefs and innovators of long standing is of inestimable value for our youth in this connection. [Applause]

Dear friends, colleagues and comrades, the following tour of the fair will give us an impression of the broad and solid foundation on which the young masters of tomorrow are already preparing for the historic event of the 30th anniversary of our socialist fatherland, the German Democratic Republic. Thus the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement with the great creative impulse of this year's jubilee fair will contribute to the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the five-year plan, a plan of top quality and effectiveness. The good results achieved by the FDJ basic organizations in carrying out the economic initiatives of the FDJ demonstrate clearly that the national economic plan increasingly develops into a battle program for youth. In this spirit and on behalf of the Central Council of Free German Youth, the FDGB Federal Executive Board, the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, the Chamber of Technology and the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, I open our 20th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the 6th performance show of students and young scientists.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

'NEUES DEUTSCHLAND' COMMENTS ON UWE FAHRENHEIM RETRIAL

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 77 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Berlin: "GDR Supreme Court: Misuse of the Transit Roads Violates Law of Nations: Trafficking in Human Lives Will Be Punished in Keeping With the Seriousness of the Crime"]

[Text] In the criminal case of UWE Fahrenheim, born 23 July 1955 in Hamburg, resident of Hamburg, Neukoellner Ring 31 B, the first criminal bench of the GDR Supreme Court, upon petition for cancellation by the GDR prosecutor general, has abolished the sentence of the Potsdam Bezirk Court of 5 August 1977 and has referred the case to that court for retrial.

The Potsdam Bezirk Court had sentenced the defendant for trafficking in human beings in conjunction to some degree with illegal border crossing--a crime under Section 105, Numeral 2, Numeral 213, Paragraph 1, of the Penal Code--to 4 years of imprisonment and expulsion and has confiscated the automobile used in the act.

In examining the defendant's criminal responsibility, the first criminal bench of the Supreme Court reached the decision that the crimes he committed were purposefully aimed at damaging socialist development in the GDR. They were being constantly promoted by the unbridled greed of the gangs operating from the territory of the FRG and Berlin (West) on the GDR transit routes. Facts well known to the courts from numerous criminal procedures show these gangs are criminal associations which act unscrupulously and increasingly apply more brutal methods while constantly violating the GDR legal system. The activity of these gangs is distinguished by the fact that they:

--Are armed with firearms and other weapons which they carry on the transit routes for use against the GDR border security forces;

--Are committing other acts of violence against the life and health of the border security forces;

--Are committing kidnappings and abusing children in perpetrating their crimes and in so doing thus also have caused the death of children;

--Are utilizing their crimes, and the persons misused for this purpose, to serve espionage purposes;

--Are equipped with forging equipment and frequently falsify passports and other documents for use in border crossing;

--Are employing drug addicts and alcoholics or such people who have no driving licenses as drivers of the so-called ferrying vehicles. They also use vehicles fit for the junkyard which are neither safe to operate nor to use in traffic thereby greatly endangering other people with these practices;

--Are at the same time committing criminal acts such as white slavery, robbery and illegal export of valuable art objects as well as grave violations of the customs and foreign currency laws.

It is evident from many additional facts known to the court that the intensification of these crimes--and this enhances their danger--is also considerably influenced by the fact their commission is being abetted and assisted in many ways by FRG state quarters. This is accomplished through secret services as well as through other state institutions and agencies protecting and directing these gangs. In many cases close contacts exist between these gangs and certain agencies for the purpose of committing the crimes with a minimum of risk.

Given this development which is inseparably linked with the intensification of the criminal trafficking in human lives aimed at the GDR, there is reason to take a stand on the existing legal position, that is for the unambiguous determination of the criminal responsibility of the inspirers and organizers and of the operatives and assistants in the criminal trafficking in human beings.

With the decision of the Federal Court of 29 September 1977 on the validity of the so-called escape helpers' contracts the existence and criminal activity of these gangs in the FRG was legalized. The misuse of the transit routes for the perpetration of these crimes was explicitly approved and the further violation of the GDR legal system was encouraged. But this decision does not affect the FRG's obligations under international law since no state can escape its obligations under international law by referring to the independence of its domestic jurisdiction.

In the treaty of 21 December 1972 on the foundations of the relations between the GDR and the FRG, the FRG has undertaken the obligation under international law to be guided in its relations with the GDR by the aims and principles stipulated by the UN Charter and to proceed from the principle that the jurisdiction of each of the two states is limited to its own state territory. The assertion that so-called escape helpers' contracts are not invalid because the gangs termed escape helpers' organizations are misusing the transit routes and are violating GDR law with their practices, contradicts the FRG's obligation assumed under this treaty, as well as under the transit agreement, to

respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in the internal affairs of the GDR. In this respect it must be above all pointed out that section 2 of the transit agreement stipulates that the generally customary GDR regulations concerning public order are applicable to transit traffic. The criminal acts committed culpably and in violation of the law while using the transit routes are explicitly termed in Section 16 of the agreement a misuse. This also applies under Section 16, Paragraph one, to people participating in these acts of misuse as accomplices, abettors or helpers. Thus the Federal Court decision openly contradicts the obligation assumed by the FRG Government, among other things in section 17 of the agreement, to adopt the required measures, particularly to prevent misuse of the transit routes, and it can in no way limit this obligation.

The established practice of these gangs, of exploiting the advantageous provisions of the transit agreement and the generous nature of the checking and control procedures for their crimes requires that the appropriate GDR organs take all necessary measures to stop their criminal activities. This is a requirement for ensuring the protection of the GDR from such attacks and for the fulfillment of the GDR's obligation under international law, particularly under Sections 2 and 16 of the transit agreement, and further to safeguard the undisturbed development of transit traffic.

As far as the previously mentioned case is concerned, the Bezirk Court proceeded insufficiently given the seriousness of the defendant's crime distinguished as an integral part of the entirety of organized, anti-state trafficking in human beings. The court should have also taken it more into consideration that the defendant, too, prompted by the lust for money, unscrupulously brushed aside the provisions of the transit agreement and that he also exploited the generous nature of checking procedures practiced by the GDR border control organs for his criminal objectives.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO BAN NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0242 GMT 10 Nov 77 LD

[Text] UN/New York--The draft resolution on banning the development and production of new kinds and systems of mass destruction weapons, which is a joint GDR-USSR-Hungarian initiative, was officially introduced to the first committee of the 32d United Nations General Assembly on Wednesday by the GDR delegate, Ambassador Dr Gerhard Herder. This resolution calls on the Geneva Disarmament Committee to continue negotiations, with the aid of qualified government experts, in order to work out a corresponding treaty text and, where necessary, to work out specific agreements on this topic.

In a statement Dr Herder said the present resolution was in line with the aim of preventing the extension of the arms race to new fields as a result of the development of new mass destruction weapons. This could be "best achieved by a comprehensive agreement which places binding obligations on all states to the same extent. Thus one of the major tasks in the negotiations is to prepare a corresponding treaty and to strive for it to be speedily ratified by the states and then strictly adhered to."

The demand to prevent the dangerous arms race being continued with new mass destruction weapons is topical and urgent, Ambassador Dr Herder stressed. The development of the neutron bomb, which--as has been repeatedly emphasized here--is a terrible mass destruction weapon, stressed the need for effective measures to prevent in time the future development of similar mass destruction weapons." It could be noted with satisfaction that as a result of the talks so far the need for a ban on developing and producing new kinds of mass destruction weapons is no longer contested in principle.

No one can say what specific developments will occur in the future leading to qualitatively new kinds and systems of mass destruction weapons. "To wait and see and then to agree on banning them in a specific agreement is not in line with our aim of ending comprehensively and in good time the arms race in this field. Experience shows that when a new weapon has been developed and substantial amounts of money spent, it is then much more difficult to ban it. It follows, therefore, that this problem can only be solved by a comprehensive agreement. In this we do not overlook--as is known--the possibility of reaching specific agreements, too, where necessary."

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

BRITISH CP CONGRESS--To the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, London. Dear comrades: The SED Central Committee conveys to the delegates of the 35th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain fraternal militant greetings. In solidaristic affinity our party is following your purposeful struggle for the interests of the workers class and all working people of your country, for the joint actions of all progressive forces. The fraternal contacts between the SED and the Communist Party of Great Britain serve the cause of peace and social progress, of the action unity of the communist parties and all anti-imperialist forces. The SED wishes your 35th Party Congress complete success. Let its decisions strengthen the force and cohesion of the Communist Party of Great Britain and make a contribution to the development of the action unity of the workers class of great Britain. With communist greetings, [Signed] E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Nov 77 p 1 AU]

COMMEMORATION OF CRYSTAL NIGHT--Dresden (ADN)--On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of Crystal Night Helmut Aris, chairman of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, laid wreaths at the Dresden City Memorial devoted to the 6 million Jews who fell victim to fascist barbarism. This monument stands on the former site of the synagogue that was burned down at that time. Crystal Night, 9-10 November 1938, touched off the organized anti-Semitic pogroms and mass murders of Jewish citizens in Germany. During that night and afterwards, 281 Jewish temples were destroyed, and 7,500 Jewish department stores and shops were wrecked and robbed. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

BISZKU WRITES ON ROLE OF PARTY LEADERS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 11, Nov 77 pp 3-9

[Article by Bela Biszku: "The Lessons of the October Revolution Serve as Guides"]

[Text] The triumph of the Russian proletariat in 1917 broke the previously unshakable front of imperialism. It resulted in a turn in the history of the world which will determine the main line of mankind's further development. For 60 years now, the Great October Socialist Revolution is celebrated by the entire progressive world. This victory of the Russian people proved that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are rooted in social reality and can be transformed into practice.

The October Revolution was the necessary consequence of the sharp class war conducted under monopoly capitalism circumstances. The fight against the old social order was led by the working class and its party, and for the first time in history carried it to final victory. A socialist state was created in the world for the first time, and the socialist system was realized.

The Great October Socialist Revolution introduced a new era in history, and it represented in world dimensions the transition from capitalism to socialism. In contrast to the former social system, a qualitatively new, exploitation-free society was begun, the practical realization of socialism. This was also a decisive turning point in the development of the theory of socialism. In practice, it proved the Lenin theorem: even under imperialist relations it is possible within a country to lead the working class, all the oppressed to victory and to build a new socialist society. With the leadership of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, the Soviet people built up and defended the country of the soviets which in the past decades has been the support and basis of the forces of socialism and all revolutionary progressive movements, and has fulfilled a determining role in the whole world in creating the international conditions necessary for the further development of the revolutionary process, and in defending peace. The Russian Revolution has inestimable influence in the battles of the world's revolutionary forces, and has enriched them with its own experiences and traditions.

* An abbreviated version of an article appearing in the Soviet periodical VAPROSI ISTORIYI.

Sixty years ago, socialism was represented in the world by only one country: The Russian Soviet Republic. A few years later, the people's power was also born in Mongolia. After the victory against fascism won by the Soviet Union and its allies in World War II, the socialist revolution was victorious in a number of European and Asian countries. It became possible for the Chinese Revolution to reap a historical victory, it created favorable conditions for the forming of the Vietnam Democratic Republic and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and provided incentive to a fight for liberation of all people.

All of the countries which embarked on the road to socialism have enriched the planned nature of building socialism with new forms. It proceeds in characteristic form in all countries. Therefore, it is a basic need to study their experiences, generalize their essence in a theoretical way, and develop Marxism-Leninism further. These experiences mean help to all the revolutionary movements in the world, even as the experiences of every unit of the international workers' movement helps the battle of the peoples who are on the socialist road.

As a consequence of the advance of the socialist world system, the international workers' movement, and the progressive forces liberated from colonial ranks, the future socialist revolutions which have developed in a new and more favorable situation as compared to the earlier forms will in all certainty enrich socialist theory with new experiences and characteristic features.

We, Hungarian communists, are proud that our working class was the first to follow the Russian proletariat. The Hungarian Soviet Republic shows that the socialist revolution was not entirely a Russian phenomenon, but an objective law in the development of society. The Soviet Republic carried in its realization both those features that were different from the Russian Revolution as well as those that were common and identical. Lenin attributed great significance to the fact that the victory of the Hungarian Soviet Republic came about without an armed uprising or bloody civil war.

In Hungary, the development proceeded in such a way that directly after World War II the country had to be built from ruins. At the same time, the working class also used its participation in the government to carry out, in common with its allies, the tasks of the democratic transformation. The first 3 years after World War II passed by in sharp class conflicts for power, the socialization of the means of production and realization of the people's democratic rights. The interests of the working class, the working people were expressed in the policies of the Communist Party and its allies. The struggle was decided by the strengthening of the worker-peasant unity, and the winning over of the working masses. With the placing of the largest factories, mines and banks under large-scale public property and with the unification of the two workers' parties — the communist and social democratic — in 1948, a unified workers' party came into being on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. All this resulted at the same time in quality changes in the development of society: the people's democracy fulfilled the function of a proletarian dictatorship.

It is a constantly renewed experience of our party that in the battle to liquidate exploitation as well as under the circumstances for building a new society, we must reckon with the general laws of objective social-historical processes. At the beginning of the 1950's, we not only encountered violations of national characteristics but also a neglect of the general laws. The Hungarian example further shows that in the interest of developing a proper strategy and tactics for the communist parties we must always take into account the characteristic national and concrete international conditions.

One of the major lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the decisive role of the party. The results of the building of socialism have confirmed, exclusive of any doubt, that the proletariat is able to fulfill its great historical mission only if an independent political party leads the battle. This is one of the most important laws of the development of the socialist revolution. It can realize the interests of the working class only if it presents itself as an organized and conscious force. The party — as the organized, conscious strength and vanguard of the working class — organizes, in accordance with the basic interests of the class, the various non-proletarian working classes, strata and groups for the building of socialism.

The necessity of the leading role for a Leninist-type party is not modified even if the building of socialism takes place in cooperation with other parties. The building of socialism whether by a single party or a multiparty system is not a basic problem of principle. As shown by various examples among European socialist countries, socialism can be built with the cooperation of various parties. The decisive point is the militant unity and political union of the progressive forces bound to socialism, the correct interpretation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, and the realization of the political program of this party expressing the interests of the working class and all the working people.

The following important consequences stem from the fact that in the present state of development of our society different classes still exist and under the existing one-party system our party is the governing party.

The Marxist-Leninist party is a live, living and developing organization, in the political goals and practical activities of which it is always necessary to adjust to the requirements of the times. This is what our party does when the congresses work out the upcoming tasks in the development of socialist society. This is how the Eleventh Congress also proceeded when it accepted the 15-20 year program for building a socialist society.

In relation to social progress, the party must take into account the various interests and attend to the appropriate coordination tasks. It must see that individual interests, the group interests of the various producer collectives should be realized in agreement with the overall interests of society and in service of the latter. In expressing the various interests of the parts, the social and mass organizations, movements have an important role, primarily the trade unions, youth organizations, and cooperatives. Systematic exchanges

of ideas at various levels of the party, the government, and the mass organizations contribute to an overall view and coordination of interests. This has for long been a natural and successful practice in our party.

The increase in the succeeding generations within the ranks of the party and the new tasks constantly appearing in the building of socialism require that the party's entire membership, particularly its leadership, keep developing Marxist-Leninist readiness so that it will meet the requirements of the times. Among other things, this goal was served last year by the exchange of membership cards, which contributed significantly to the strengthening of the party's ideological, political and action unity; and moreover, the Central Committee recently passed a resolution on the Marxist-Leninist training of the party membership and the development of the party's propaganda work.

As the vanguard of the working class constantly striving for the interests of the working masses, our party is constantly widening its mass base and with the decline in class differences is constantly becoming the party of the entire working people. The program statement also affirms that with the decline in differences among social classes and strata the party is gradually becoming the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of all the people.

Keeping the lessons of the October Revolution in mind and thinking through its own experiences, our party holds with firm conviction that there is still today a need to assure the internal and external conditions for building socialism in the Hungarian Socialist Republic, and for a long time in the future there will still be a need for the power of the working class, the development of a socialist state. To the extent the formula was erroneous, as held in an earlier period, that the class war will be increasingly sharpened by the building of socialism, it would also be erroneous to believe that the trend to relaxation can be absolutized. It always depends on concrete domestic and international power relations which trend will be more strongly actualized. We also count on the possibility of change and are prepared to defend the achievements of socialism. We take a realistic attitude toward the interrelations and mutual dialectics of peaceful coexistence, the direction of relaxation and the ideological struggle. In most recent times, certain imperialist circles intensified their ideological diversions, the main goal of which is to undo the union of the community of socialist countries and their relations, and the unity of the international workers' movement. Imperialism has not given up its political activity of disruption, interference in the affairs of the socialist countries, and seeks from time to time to hold back the detente process.

The MSZMP has devoted great attention in recent years to developing the various functions of the state. With the laying of the foundations of socialism and the strengthening of its positions, the main function of the state is in economic organization and cultural education work. We attribute special attention to the activities of the councils which are called on to serve the local, economic, social, cultural and educational needs of the population. For the future, all these things stand in the forefront of party work and require great attention.

Our experiences bear witness to the fact that the Marxist-Leninist federation policy and the proper formation of relations between the party and non-party members has revealed immense resources. Our party deals with its allies as partners of equal rank. We regard the building of socialism as being of such overall national interest that it draws into the solution all classes and social layers. Naturally, political federation and ideological discussion created an ideological unity on the federation policy of the working class.

It is the party's attitude that power and federation policy belong together, they supplement and assume each other. Federation policy is above all a federation of classes of which the most important basis is the worker-peasant federation. In addition, the unity of the three quarters of a million Hungarian communists, as well as those outside the party, the believer and non-believer millions is expressed in the interest of building socialism. The basis of good mass relations is mutual confidence which must be won over and over again. The Eleventh Congress stated it correctly: "The close relations of the party and the people, their unity, the mutual confidence between the party and the masses means much, more than anything in Hungary today. Our people know that in every situation it can count on our battle-hardened party, and our party knows that in the solution of every task it can securely build on our people, on the strength of socialist national unity that is growing from year to year."

We learned that the federation must be built not only under difficult circumstances but also when matters are going well. Since the formation of our party we are attributing basic importance to our federation policy. The party achieved great success when it had strong ties with the masses and it suffered defeats when the ties were loosened, either because of an ungenerous attitude toward allies or because of lack of principle.

Above all, federation policy is the policy of cooperation on the basis of interests and goals in building socialism. As the vanguard, the party must show the way, but winning the conviction and support of the masses is indispensable in such a way that the masses, the allies can follow.

This happened in Hungary with the socialist transformation of agriculture, which after various earlier and inadequately based attempts we realized between 1958-1961 by way of strengthening the worker-peasant federation, taking into account the interests of the peasant masses, and adhering strictly to voluntarism. With this, socialist production relations prevailed in our country. Today, socialist agriculture is an organic part of the socialist foundations of our economy, and it was through this that the political basis of our state was strengthened, the worker-peasant federation. In the past 15 years, the two basic classes have converged, and the differences between city and village have decreased. It is one of the great achievements of the revolutionary transformation of our society that a socialist intelligentsia developed which is an active participant in the building work, and indivisible ties link it to the basic working classes of society, the workers and the peasants. The moral unity of all the people has developed and is constantly being strengthened.

We must gradually convince our allies of the correctness of our long-range goals so that in this way the scope of those who agree with socialist building and our ideas will be broadened. A firm ideological political base is indispensable, as well as common discussions, exchange of ideas, and thinking together in order correctly to determine the further goals and pace of social progress. The development of federation policies requires that the leading role of the working class in the building of socialism should be fully realized at every period. However, this is not be realized automatically but by way of the party's conscious, ideological, educational, social organizing and guiding work.

With the development of our socialist state, socialist democracy is becoming deeper and broader. Lenin regarded democracy and democratism for socialism, as a part of the struggle for the rule of the working class, and he never disregarded this.

In our times, precisely as a consequence of the international results of the October Socialist Revolution, the successes of the socialist countries, the progressive countries which became independent, the international communist movement and the struggle of the working class in the developed capitalist countries, the federation of the working class, all working classes and strata, the social progress, in capitalist countries, can be realized in a certain sense in another way, on a broader basis because international power relations have shifted to the advantage of socialism and progress, the demand for social justice and peace has become stronger and more conscious in the working classes. Life has shown that the struggle for proletarian state power means the struggle for democracy in the sense that Lenin put it: "consistent democracy...requires socialism."

Socialist democracy differs qualitatively from bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy is not exhausted with freedom of speech, not even with the right to work, to rest, to have paid vacations, and in general to enjoy a more secure life. In quality, it differs from the bourgeois democracies in that it does not recognize any kind of exploitation, assures political ownership of the means of production and above all permits the workers to exercise political power in their own interest. These achievements are contained in the constitutions of the socialist countries. From this point of view, the new Soviet constitution is of particular international importance, which proclaims and secures basic human freedom from socialist relations and with the basic law of the state.

Freedom of opinion is inseparable from the process of broadening socialist democracy, and together therewith active participation in the building of a socialist society. The cultural, occupational and world outlook development of the individual belongs here as a basic social driving force and incentive to the processes of democratization. The progress in building socialism in the various socialist countries affirms that democratism is the essential feature of the socialist state.

In Hungary, today, the deepening and broadening of socialist democracy is particularly important in three important areas of society where it is already on the agenda of local councils, factories and cooperatives. We shall link this process of democratization with perfecting the state administrative organs.

In the struggle for socialism, the development of democracy under the relations of socialism creates better conditions for a plan management that rests on the common ownership of the means of production. This determining feature of socialist economy and the social ownership of the means of production create the means and possibilities that productive forces and production should develop in accordance with the interests of the people, in proper proportion and on the basis of scientific plans. The experience of socialist relations which can be generalized is that the main moving force of a socialist economy is for the material and intellectual needs of the people to be met and developed in such a systematic way that it will realize a fuller harmony of social and individual interests on basis of the principle of distribution according to work. Under the given conditions, socialism is realizing an attainable social justice and equality as the principle of realizing collective human relations. This basic principle of socialism expresses at the same time one of the important aspects of economic guidance, the harmony of material and moral incentive, and their mutually reinforcing relations.

The international communist movement is living in a dynamic, upward-vaulting period. The socialist world system is exercising an increasingly greater influence on history. In more and more countries they are searching for the solution to their troubles — this includes the third world and capitalist countries as well — in changes that assume a broad unity of the people pointing toward socialism. More and more, there is a stronger recognition that only socialism guarantees actual democracy, freedom rights, full national independence, and a firm and lasting peace. The brother parties form their answers to the ever new problems that arise in the process of life and progress through comparing their experiences and in forward-carrying exchanges of ideas. Meanwhile, they strive to see that the exchanges of views should proceed on ideological bases, in a comradely way by keeping in mind the identity of basic interests and goals among the communist parties, in the spirit of international solidarity, and in knowledge of their increased responsibility. We must see that in searching for the road the class enemy should not be allowed to exploit the inevitable pitfalls to its advantage, to attack the achievements of socialism, and to weaken the mass influence of our brother parties working in capitalist countries.

In expressing the positions of our party, Janos Kadar emphasized the following at the Berlin Conference of European communist and worker parties: "The general and valid teachings of Marxism-Leninism are applied in the individual communist parties by taking into account the national characteristics of the country, historical traditions, and social relations. Today, when the communist world movement does not have a center or leading party, when the brother parties determine their tactics and strategies independently, protecting the clarity of Marxist-Leninist theory, theoretical utilization of experiences gained in

practice, and the realization of the principles of proletarian internationalism are of particular importance."

Marxist-Leninist theory has always been built on the practice of the working class, on the experiences of the parties. Today, Marxism can develop particularly fast through generalizing the experiences of the upswing in the struggle since more and more units of the working class are expanding revolutionary science. In such a situation, the subjective conditions of worthy progress in the communist parties — independently of whether they are in power or struggling for power — are incomparably greater than before. According to the needs of the times, the common struggles have gained a broader understanding, and their internationalist solidarity is increasingly of greater importance.

The concept of internationalism is also expanding, and cooperation is becoming particularly important in the solution of complicated, complex theoretical problems. There is an increasing subjective need for every communist party to study the history of its revolutionary wars and of other countries in a deeper way so that they can adopt in a creative and scientific way the experiences of the entire anti-imperial movement. When the bourgeoisie proclaims the theories of Marx, Engles and Lenin as outmoded, not modern, then communists, as progressives, must study with greater care the incredibly valuable theoretical heritage which has been left to the present generation. Theoretical and political practice will not countenance prestige viewpoints, superciliousness and arrogance. Social laws are objective, and they cannot be violated with impunity. Among other reasons, the future belongs to the communists because they understand the past and they do not handle historical experiences as dead matter; because they recognize the laws that appear in the events, because in possession of yesterday's experiences — to the extent that this is possible in political practice — they avoid errors and draw deductions for their revolutionary activity.

Our party, as the inheritor and bearer of the centuries-old struggle of the Hungarian people and as the expression of progressive national traditions and national interests, has made the creation of a developed socialist state its program, and in realizing this it makes use of the experiences of other socialist countries. The workers' party links two inseparable elements of the obligation to socialism. It avows that with the agreement of the national and international interests of the communist and workers' parties on the basis of voluntarism and equality, they must strive for unity, mutual support of one another, solidarity and a combined, common front for the building of socialism, international progress, and peace.

The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution was the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union, the success of the entire Soviet people. All progressive mankind accepts its results and positive effects as its own. All people on the progressive path regard V. I. Lenin as their own. The 60 years of development in the Soviet Union and the life of the countries building socialism have enriched Marxism-Leninism with new experiences. These experiences arm those who are struggling today for socialism, the socialist revolution, to find the most suitable paths and methods to national and international conditions, and the means to liberate themselves from monopoly capitalism, and find their way to progress, socialism and peace.

POLAND

NEED SEEN FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL CRITICISM

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 77 pp 133-141

[Article by Wojciech Lamentowicz: "Role of Social Criticism in the Development of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] "The straightforward, wise learning of democracy," which Comrade Edward Gierek talked about on 2 July 1976, is the present task for the entire current period of history. The need for the development of democratic political culture was emphasized by the hypotheses of the Seventh Party Plenum of April 1977, which stressed many times the importance which the party attaches to public opinion, to the active stance of working people, and to their involvement in national and state affairs. The party takes the position that "working people's participation in governing defines the essence of socialist democracy..."; one of the conditions for this participation is a critical interest in political, economic, and cultural affairs.

The improvement of the level of criticism, the expansion of its effectiveness, and the development of forms of this critical interest are a component part of the structuring of democratic political culture and an indispensable method of improving all areas of social life. The full exploitation of democratic political institutions is still encountering difficulties related to the underdevelopment of the culture of criticism and creative reaction to it.

Under the conditions of socialism, a creative citizenlike attitude is a feature of the direct relationship between affirmation and criticism. Under our regime, conflicts between them are not antagonistic in nature. This is just the reason why a citizenlike attitude, which is beneficial to the further development of socialist political culture, should include in it elements of criticism and affirmation. Affirmation of the basic principles and leading ideas of the socialist regime should also manifest themselves in a critical attitude vis-a-vis all institutions, actions, and decisions which fail to respect these principles. In order to affirm socialism by one's attitude, it is necessary at the same time to apply severe criticism to everything which delays its development (for example, wasteful handling of public property, corruption, clique-inspired loyalty, arbitrary management,

*NOWE DROGI, No 5, 1977, p 25

bureaucratic institutional operations, lack of a sense of responsibility for carrying out tasks entrusted, and petit bourgeois attitude towards things and money). We read in the tenets of the Seventh Party Plenum: "We must criticize those attitudes and behaviors which are contrary to the public interest or contrary to socialist morality and our socialist ideology, which are consciously or unconsciously contrary to socioeconomic progress, and we must also criticize whatever is inimical to socialism or Poland."¹

The dialectical unity of criticism and affirmation is also manifested in the sphere of evaluative thinking concerning sociopolitical systems. A logical condition to the authentic affirmation of socialist principles of regime is not only criticism of the principles of the capitalist regimes but also of those elements of our own social practice which hamper or interfere with the structuring of an advanced socialist society.

In socialism's social relations there are no objective foundations for a competitive struggle between social groups and individuals. Nor is there any reason for political pluralism, as an institutional form of legal opposition against the government and ruling party, to exist in socioeconomic terms under socialism. Economic competition and political opposition have given way to planned economic management and political cooperation among the social forces vitally interested in the further development of socialism. We are still looking for new, more effective ways to run the state and the economy. Rejecting competition in economics and politics, we must look more and more for important means of optimizing social actions like criticism and self-criticism. By virtue of the very fact that market competition and opposition among political parties do not occur in a socialist regime, we must continually keep an eye out to see that social criticism discharges their important functions.

Neither uncritical affirmation of existing relations and institutions nor flagrant criticism can insure effective operations on the macrosocial scale.

Hence, the union of affirmation with criticism comprise the sense of joint management responsibility and effective implementation of this right, and the political culture of a socialist society.

An attitude of critical affirmation is the right and duty of the citizen. Communists particularly should be particularly active in this regard. The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic obliges all to the same extent, but members of the Polish United Workers Party are committed to a particularly high level of ideological and moral requirements stated in the party by-laws.

We find in the works of V. I. Lenin many instructions which describe the role of criticism and self-criticism in intraparty relations. Lenin

¹Ibidem, p 30-31.

wrote: "Self-criticism is absolutely essential for every living, vital party. There is nothing more trivial than self-satisfied optimism."^{*}

Public criticism of negative phenomena and the generally felt effectiveness of criticism may fulfill many important sociopolitical functions. They can have an advantageous effect on the optimization of political and economic decisions and help to correct them in keeping with the experience of practice and the needs of life. They help to rationalize the selection of management personnel. They are indispensable factors of social control to oversee the leadership of political, economic, and cultural-upbringing institutions. The development of constructive criticism helps to deepen the real bond and mutual trust between the state and party machinery and the society. Elements of authority which consciously subject themselves to citizens' criticism and react to it by improving their operations bolster their moral authority and gain broader social support. The possibility of participating in consultations and expressing their opinions mobilizes social energy to accomplish the goals of the country's development. People who avail themselves of the right to criticize usually do so out of a sense of the responsibility they share for the rate and content of social change. This sense of shared responsibility is a particularly valuable incentive for social action on the part of working people, because where attitudes of angry claims and resentment predominate ("let them give me this or that"), individuals can very seldom be mobilized to use their energies on behalf of actions for the society. These attitudes then appear where the ineffectiveness of criticism immobilizes social action. And, vice versa: the possibility of stating suggestions and demands and the feeling that critical opinions are respected and are expressed in proper decisions have an integrating effect on the society.

The problems discussed are connected to the creative development of the theoretical-ideological fundamentals of the party program. Without discussion and consultations coupled with critical reflection it is difficult to maintain such a level of ideological vitality in the party or outside it, a level which is an essential condition to formulating fitting responses to new problems and combatting tendencies towards dogmatism and revisionism. A constant exchange of views is an essential condition to acquiring reliable information on the situation and to correct forecasting of the directions of development in the future. Wise criticism and self-criticism enrich the strategy of the workers movement.

Of particular importance is the influence of social criticism on the optimization of political decisions and, especially, on prophylactic efforts related to the prevention of erroneous decisions. Often a view "from the other side" concerning certain solutions or projects of actions make it possible to perceive the strong and weak points better.

^{*}Lenin, V. I. "On Mixing Politics and Pedagogy," in DZIELA [Works], Vol 8, Warsaw, 1955, p 457.

The early detection of erroneous or simply unsatisfactory moves can be accomplished through the combination of social experience and the knowledge of experts, by improving the forms of social consultation and the forms of professional counselling. The party echelons are always responsible for the proper organization and utilization of the results of consultations with groups and experts. The organization of comprehensive, critical dialogue with experts, professional administrators, and certain groups of citizen initiative is an important aspect of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The fostering of rational criticism among all participants to the political dialogue during the phase of preparation and decision-making makes it possible to carry out the decisions more effectively and harmoniously. The more democratic the procedure we use during the decision-making phase, the greater the chance of having it carried out in disciplined fashion. This is why it is worthwhile to attach the greatest significance to all preparatory work in the decision-making processes. The role of clear, honest criticism full of concern for the social good is exceptionally important right during the steering phase.

The subjective factor in the development of socialist societies (represented for example by bodies of the state or party machinery) can never be made to depend entirely on the objectively existing material and cultural conditions. It is hampered not only by what is external to it but also by its imminent imperfection. There is no thinking, acting person who can usurp the right to infallibility, but neither can we require perfection of anyone or expect only correct actions. On the other hand, errors can be prevented, and it certainly is possible to make them occur less frequently. It is in the interest of the party and the society for us to avail ourselves of this possibility. This is another reason why the fullest possible cooperation is necessary. Asking for opinions and exchanging ideas concerning proposals and comparing opposing views help optimize the process of the country's development and directing this development.

In the process of specifying social demands and needs through institutional forms of consultation, it is often necessary to formulate critical opinions. Often critical analysis is an essential condition to the formulation of proposals for the future.

We do know from experience that not every type of criticism helps in the optimization of decisions and the perfecting of socialist democracy. Flatly antisocialist criticism which questions the basic fundamentals of our regime (for example, central planning, social property, distribution according to work, and so on) or the ultimate goals of the communist movement (for example, full emancipation and comprehensive development of the personalities of all people, classless community of self-governing producers) cannot be a factor which favors the development of socialism. We are often also convinced that there is little social benefit to be had from irresponsible, one-sided, insincere, unconstructive criticism which is unfair to

people. Unfair criticism of the operations of people or institutions does not improve their work and may be just as harmful as an absence of critical citizenlike commitment, apathy, or cynical opportunism.

Nevertheless, this problem is very complicated. Disturbingly frequently we observe the resort to bureaucratic-technocratic tendencies to hush up criticism under the pretext that a given critical statement is "unconstructive," "irresponsible," "one-sided in generalizing negative facts," "insincere," and so on. The freedom to express critical opinions about people and institutions therefore can and must be protected by political and legal means, because often the quelling of criticism is related to hiding errors from social opinion. The restriction of the possibility of honest criticism may be just as dangerous for the individual as for the public interest.

Culture in the way people and social-professional groups react to critical opinion concerning their operations depends upon many factors. The arbitrary, intolerant person who is convinced of his great knowledge and skills takes criticism usually in an arrogant manner, tries to eliminate potential critics, or in some sort of way, even dishonestly, attempts to compromise his critics or ridicule them.

But personality factors are not alone in determining the way people react to critical opinions. The level of general and professional education, the place a person holds in the organizational structure, and the type of past sociopolitical career are important factors which condition the way a person responds to criticism. Of tremendous importance is the sense of threat to a person's position. People afraid of losing the position they hold, people who are unsure of their intellectual and organizational value, seldom manage a creative open attitude toward critical signs. A sense of one's own value coupled with readiness to subject oneself to a test generally favors open, wise reaction to criticism and a calm, straightforward exchange of opinions and arguments.

A more explicit definition of the principles for evaluating critical statements could have great significance in the further development of culture in reacting to criticism. In what way can people who are criticized by others reach proper conclusions as to the quality of the criticism? What should be taken into account, in order to determine whether concrete criticism is responsible, sincere, and based on principle, and therefore socially valuable?

At least four criteria for evaluating the correctness of critical statements can be listed.

First: the intent of the person doing the criticizing. If someone openly declares the intent to harm certain people or the development of socialist relations, the evaluation is simple. It is more difficult to assess the designs of the critic who declares no intent or declares the intent to upgrade certain areas of life. Then it is only indirectly that these intentions may be evaluated through the use of knowledge of real behavior, and social and political affiliations of the person who is applying the criticism.

Experience shows that the most frequent motive behind criticism is not the desire to harm others but civic involvement. The very fact of the existence of public criticism assumes a sense of social bond between the person doing the criticizing and the person criticized. A person who is completely indifferent to the affairs of other people and disinterested in the nature of human relations will not generally be able to accept people's public criticism at a meeting or in the press! Generally, the motive behind critical remarks is a sense of shared responsibility for the shape of social relations and the course of political processes.

Second, the selection of information and the method of argumentation applied in the given critical statement. It is generally possible to check on the veracity and completeness of the information, and it is also possible to make a logical analysis of the method of critical argumentation (for example, what new approach does the given criticism propose?) In this way it is possible to assess the realiability of the criticism. A statement's insulting or aggressive tone may indicate a low level of culture of the criticism. Then the rational nucleus of the criticism is overshadowed by its form. Even if correct and honest of intent, such criticism will not achieve a positive result.

Third, the values and assessment criteria accepted by the critic. This is a very complex problem, because the scale of values and principles for recognition are rarely the same from one person to another. Just because we do not recognize the same hierarchy of values that our critic does is no reason to deny that his statements are based on principle. There are various sorts of principled action, because the principles and values which people actually set store by differ.

Fourth, the social effects of criticism are the most objectivized criterion, because the facts can almost always be established. What has changed? To whose benefit or detriment? Is this a change for the better? It is also possible to ascertain the effect of the criticism on the person, institution, or system being criticized. Assessment of the social effects of given criticism requires calm analysis and restraint to keep from taking rash steps, because many favorable and adverse effects may not appear until some time has passed. In addition, the real effects of criticism depend not only on the reactions of other people but especially on those of the people being criticized directly. In making an assessment, of the social effects of criticism, we act from our own point of view according to our notions and view of the world. A tolerant, open attitude toward criticism, which socialist humanism advocates, assumes that our values, convictions, notions, and so on are not the only ones which are legally valid, and that our critic's scale of values may contain elements which are valuable for us also. Of course, tolerance concerning critical statements does not mean that we must give up the active defense of our own position.

Difficulties in formulating assessments concerning the extent to which various critical statements are constructive stem from the fact that none

of the above-mentioned criteria completely determines our assessment unequivocally. Good, prosocial, prosocialist intentions do not protect anyone against making errors in the argumentation of critical statements, from using incorrect information by accident, or from having the social effects of his criticism prove harmful. It may also happen that the criticism which is made with bad intentions (for example, egotistical benefit, revenge, psychological sabotage) results in socially beneficial effects, if the persons or institutions criticized respond properly.

What can be done in such a difficult situation, in order to assess correctly whether the criticism is honest, high-principled, and constructive? The solution, which is rather difficult but at the same time has certain virtues, is to systematically apply all four standards of the quality of the criticism together. Additionally it is also useful to adopt the principle that "you can learn even from the devil himself," that suggestions or opinions based on the criticism's morally or politically incorrect orientation can also be instructive and stimulate thinking.

The basic rule for a Marxist assessment of any criticism is to analyze its actual effect on the balance of class power on the national and international scale. The proletariat's sociohistorical interests and the prospects for the working person's ultimate liberation create a system of concrete values which make it possible to assess rather clearly the political meaning of given criticism.

The criticism may fulfill positive functions only when it meets certain conditions itself and when the decision-making elements which it is to assist in effective governing endow the criticism with the proper significance. Above all, constructive, forward-looking criticism can effectively assist decision-making elements in removing errors and imbalances.

The constructive, creative nature of criticism consists mainly in the proposal of other solutions whose superiority is properly justified to replace the decisions, actions, and so on being criticized. In addition, criticism which is to be helpful must not be nihilistic. Nihilism in social criticism is expressed in the fact that all sorts of rational, genuine virtues of the rejected solutions are denied. In this way, the real contribution and achievements are negated along with the accompanying errors and distortions.

There is no way to serve truth and progress successfully, if at the same time what represents an important achievement in some sphere of social life is allowed to slip by. Here it is worthwhile to recall Ludwig Feuerbach's idea: "It is easy to find fault and criticize, which is why many people do it. To praise with reason is difficult, and this is why not many know how." A one-sided conception of complicated problems on the part of moralistic or nihilistic criticism generally gives rise to new practical and theoretical errors.

The far-reaching nature of criticism is expressed in the fact that the goal is the future, and not the defense or simple negation of what exists at a given moment. The basic requisite for further progress is the discovery of the conditions of tomorrow and the ways and methods for developing these circumstances through a critical analysis of the past and the present.

Of course we could also consider still other requirements, which should satisfy the critic (such as the critic's objectivity or deliberate, thoughtful style), but it would seem that from the viewpoint of effectiveness the criteria of being constructive and forward-looking are the most important.

Criticism which meets the requirements outlined above may be effective and help improve social effectiveness of government only when the persons to whom it is directed make skillful use of the information gained thereby, and when the leading elements of the state, the echelons of the party and social organizations take the critical remarks seriously, take due notice of critical opinions, and respond with arguments in a good-natured manner even when the judgments are not entirely correct. The tenets of the Seventh Party Plenum state: "Social criticism should be utilized resolutely as an instrument for spotting and then eliminating harmful phenomena... This makes it necessary to improve the forms, methods, and directions of criticism, and the climate in which this criticism is utilized. The way in which this task is carried out should be considered a measure of the political maturity of groups, institution leadership, citizens, and employees."*

We should consider the most important conditions for the proper functioning of criticism to be those efforts of political decision-making units which: 1) insure an authentic, frank exchange of opinions and combat the repression of criticism or the disregarding of it; 2) assure the sufficiently broad flow of rapid, reliable information to the society; 3) protect those who have the civic courage to criticize; and 4) develop in employees of the government machinery an attitude of rational self-criticism. Only when all the "parties" involved in the dialogue try to meet at least these conditions will critical consultation cease to be an event in public life and become a lasting factor in the mechanism of government.

Hence, it is possible to develop alternative thinking, tolerance for different opinions, effective social supervision of political institutions, and involved civic criticism in a system without institutionalized forms of action opposed to the government or competitive interparty struggles for power. Despite the statements of liberal critics of socialism, bureaucracy is not unavoidable in such a system.

The possibility of the society's giving critical consideration to the problems of public life bolsters sociopolitical activity, develops a sense of genuine participative government, spreads skill in government, and is a plane for detecting and combatting nonantagonistic conflicts, without allowing things to break down into conflicts and tensions to flare into open political squabbles.

*NOWE DROGI, No 5, 1977, p 31.

Where political debate is sufficient to resolve tremendous problems, direct altercations between political forces are unnecessary. The proper definition of the role of social criticism in political and socioeconomic practice is one of the basic guarantees of harmonious development of a socialist society.

It is all the more important that the general increase in the level of education enhances the ability to take a critical look at the various evidences of the operation of institutions. We must count on the fact that as various forms of socialist democracy develop, there will be an increase in the overall sensitivity to weak spots in operations in the institutional sphere of life and a greater tendency toward open declaration of various critical opinions. For this reason, improving and upgrading the culture of criticism and the reaction to it are an urgent task for all units which shape civic attitudes.

It is worth seeing to it that party organizations and their bodies at all levels are the true vanguard of this process, because socialist political culture and socialist democracy are not developed spontaneously. They must be fought for. The party determines the direction of this struggle, as expressed among other things in the tenets of the Seventh Party Plenum, which are full of democratic content and significance, and the resolution of the PZPR Politbureau: "On the further improvement of public information and press agent activities and the bolstering of the ideological and moral-training role of criticism in the press and on radio and television," where we read, for example: "The improvement of social relations and of the activity of the socialist state is furthered by concrete, honest criticism bearing the stamp of party responsibility. Creative, constructive criticism and the clash of different views are important in the development of Marxist ideology and the social sciences and in steering cultural activity and artistic creativity in the proper direction. A critical approach helps to combat adverse phenomena: minimization of tasks and goals, conservatism and falling into a rut, and ineffectiveness and incompetence which hamper the implementation of the program of the country's socioeconomic development. It is the duty of the entire party, its echelons and basic organizations, and fundamental administration and also an important task of the information and propaganda media to combat these phenomena."*

*NOWE DROGI, No 3, 1977, p 42

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YUGOSLAVIA

FORMER CROATIAN STUDENT LEADER DISCUSSES POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 31 Oct 77 p 170

[Article by Zvonimir Cicak: "Shoveling Excrement with the Mess-Kit"]

[Text] Long-term prison terms on the basis of petty charges, inhuman prison conditions: Zvonimir Cicak, a Croatian nationalist sentenced in 1971 to 3 years confinement in a penitentiary, described on Swedish TV the fate of political prisoners in the country hosting the CSCE successor conference.

I was the first student to be elected--on 21 December 1970--vice-chancellor of Zagreb University. Subsequently I was indicted on account of this election.

I was indicted on account of my being a Croatian, patriot, ardent Catholic and a free, leftist socialist. These are my transgressions, on account of which I have been persecuted since my high school days.

But others were persecuted as well. I am thinking of Professor Marko Veselica, who is still in prison, and of his wife and their two daughters. She is in constant fear of losing her job; so she is not really free either.

Marko Veselica spent 20 days in solitary confinement: In order not to starve to death he had obtained some food in exchange for a cigarette received from his wife.

It is somewhat difficult to talk about 1971. At any rate, it is difficult for me, for I cannot comment on the political program, since we are not allowed to make political statements in public.

For this reason, I will restrict myself here to some facts of my life: After more than 3 years in the penitentiary, I have not been able to

find any work. Two weeks after my release from prison, I was drafted. After finishing military service, I got married; my wife is pregnant. I am not given any work, for although at the university I studied philosophy and comparative literature, I do not have any "moral-political qualities."

The politicians attend the Belgrade Conference, while there are hundreds of political prisoners in this country. Djilas speaks of 600 prisoners, but one of my colleagues says that in the Foca penitentiary alone, 500 Croatians are imprisoned. This is only one penitentiary in Bosnia, but nobody mentions the Lepoglava, Gradiska and Zenika prisons. What we are dealing with here is not only the problem of Croatian prisoners, but the problem of all Yugoslav prisoners, of people who likewise are imprisoned without any justification.

Can one convict somebody just because he does not think the same way they do? Or because he told a joke? Or can one convict my brother-in-law Damir Stambuk, just because he told his friends in the army that I had not changed since my release from prison; incidentally, many other people say the same thing about me. By God, he is only a boy of 19, a worker, but on account of his utterances he was sentenced to 5 years of close confinement. In reality, he was sent to jail, because he is my brother-in-law.

One must mention those people, who are sentenced to 2 or more years imprisonment for having sung Croatian songs. They jail people for wearing the Croatian coat of arms on their wristwatches. All this is absurd. There is a Croatian coat of arms at the entrance to my apartment: If the police saw this, they could again send me to prison on account of it. But I bought it in a store in Zagreb.

My friend Paradzik, who was imprisoned along with me and who likewise spent 6 months in solitary confinement, was upon his release sent back to jail for another 2 months: He had adorned his wedding announcements with the tricolor in the national colors. He had used cards available on the open market.

My friend Budisa was sentenced to 1 month of solitary confinement for having lent a book to a fellow prisoner: an Italian book, an Italian language primer. He was placed in a cell measuring no more than 1 by 2 meters and infested with fungi. When he entered the cell, the bucket was full, full to the brim; it had been standing there for who knows how long--the stench was unbearable.

He rang for the guard and asked that the feces be removed; he was told that cleanup was on Thursdays. All this happened on a Friday. So he had to use his mess tin to scoop up the excrement and throw it at night out of the window so that he would not have to relieve himself on the

floor of his cell. He then had to eat from the same mess tin.

Drazen Budisa was for a time locked up in a cell which I would not have believed to exist in our country. It is called Dark Cell, for there are no windows. If a person is confined for 2 days to such a dark cell and then led out to the open air, his eyes will be affected: I know what caused my eye trouble...

Is it not absurd that the West called us fascists and terrorists, although we advocated the same ideals of democratic socialism and the right to freedom? Nobody here wants to see this.

All of Europe rose up in defense of Mihajlov, but there are thousands of Mihajlovs in Croatia and nowhere is there a word of protest. When Vietnam was the big issue, everybody made a great noise and engaged in demonstrations.

But when we were sent to jail, nobody said a word.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TACTICAL COORDINATION WITH TERRITORIALS DISCUSSED

Belgrade VOJNI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 4, Jul-Aug 77 pp 16-24

[Article by Col Milan Vranes: "Certain Problems in Organizing the Combined Action of YPA Tactical Units and Territorial Defense"]

[Text] The conception of nationwide defense has been introducing a number of important innovations into the combat activity of units at all levels and of all types: from preparation and organization to the ultimate execution of each combat mission. Innovations, then, are present in the overall activity of units, commands and agencies at all levels, whether they have to do with tasks and procedures preceding performance of the mission or are incorporated into the actions of units. This analysis will be mainly aimed at the problems of organizing tactical (direct) coordination and is based on the proposition of the new tactical rules, whose provisions are already being applied in the training of commands, officers and units.

Nature and Importance of Tactical Coordination

Tactical or direct coordination is defined in military theory as the coordinated simultaneous or alternating action of YPA units of various types and purposes and also territorial defense units and elements of the order of battle against an objective or target in order to neutralize, destroy or capture it or to shatter the enemy's attack. With respect to importance and priority coordination is always organized on behalf of the units which under the particular conditions is the principal combat force and on whose commitment performance of the combat mission depends most, so that it will at the same time be responsible for coordinating total capabilities and for taking advantage of the effect of other units and elements of the order of battle which are participating in the joint combat activity.

This definition of the nature of tactical coordination signifies that it is a very important and frequently even decisive procedure in organizing and conducting combat operations. At the same time it makes it mandatory that commands and officers precisely organize the coordination, above all in the initial phase, and then in the course of the action supplement and constantly monitor execution of the coordination that has been organized. As

soon as an officer receives his combat mission, then, his principal concern should be the best way of using the available personnel and materiel--in conformity with their specific purpose and capabilities--and of guiding and synchronizing their activity (with respect to the assigned target, time and space).

Appropriate conditions are also necessary to the successful organization and realization of coordination: good familiarity with the combat situation, unanimity in conception of missions, good organization and the taking of steps and procedures so that precise agreement can be reached quickly, and permanent, rapid and reliable communication among participants in the coordinated action.

Innovations in the Conception of Nationwide Defense and Their Impact on the Organization of Coordinated Action

The conception of nationwide defense is by its nature a significant innovation manifested in the unity between its sociopolitical attributes and its military-technological characteristics. It basically presupposes the all-inclusiveness, massiveness, diversity and combination of all forms of resistance, which are synthesize principally by armed combat. That is why particular attention is being paid at the current time to the further development and refinement of the theory and practice of nationwide defense, why a system of documents concerning doctrine, directives and organization and planning are being prepared so as to regulate the structure and mode of operation of the various elements in the defense system, and why specific measures and actions have been undertaken to prepare all parts of society for defense of the country.

The basic (new) element in the conception of nationwide defense is also significant to this analysis; it is the organizational existence of TERRITORIAL DEFENSE as a new component with a particular purpose within the unified armed forces. Its level of development, purpose and tasks and the diverse manner in which it is used complicate integrated activity in the process of preparing, organizing and waging nationwide warfare and indeed the conduct of combat operations at the operational-tactical level, which also carries over to the organization of tactical coordination.

Territorial defense, with its specific structures, has agencies and units whose organizational existence, role and purpose make cooperation mandatory at all levels of command and direction--including even tactical units at the lowest level. These agencies are as follows:

- i. republic, provincial, zonal and opstina territorial defense staffs and territorial defense staffs in local communities and organizations of associated labor;
- ii. territorial defense units and commands at various levels and of various types;

iii. sociopolitical communities with their internal structure and commitments to nationwide defense; and

iv. sociopolitical organizations.

These structures in territorial defense represent something qualitatively new in the armed forces, but at the same time they impose new operational problems in the organization and conduct of combat operations, since the overall mechanism of waging armed combat as a whole, and indeed combat in the strict sense, becomes much more complicated.

This approach to regarding and assessing the all-inclusiveness and complexity of the various procedures and the process of preparing, organizing and conducting combat actions in the context of nationwide defensive warfare derives from the fact that all structures in territorial defense (staffs, commands, agencies and units) have their place in the overall structure of the armed forces, and they have a definite role and clearly defined tasks. Specifically assigned tasks, above all those of territorial defense units, determine the amount of work to be done and obligations to be discharged in organizing coordination, and it is indispensable to recall what these consist of.

The basic tasks of territorial defense [TD] units are above all to conduct combat operations, to monitor the terrain, to provide security for the population and property, to protect organizations of associated labor, agencies of sociopolitical communities and bodies of sociopolitical organizations--mainly on captured territory. The purpose of their commitment is to inflict losses of personnel and technical combat equipment on the enemy within a specified space of operations, to hinder his movements and maneuvers, to disrupt his system of command and supply, to tie the enemy down to a particular place, and to prevent the effective functioning of the system of occupation. They may carry out coordinated action with YPA units, they may be attached to them, or they may carry out certain tasks such as scouting, security, sabotage, etc., making it unnecessary to form and assign such functions to particular agencies (elements of the order of battle) within YPA units.

This range of tasks assigned to territorial defense units makes it mandatory that their overall activity be synchronized with the activity of corresponding YPA units. That is what makes coordination of commands (agencies) and units of the YPA and territorial defense considerably more complicated--there are more participants in carrying out the joint missions with whom faultless cooperation must be organized at all levels of command.

Under the new conditions, then, coordination has a broader meaning than the conventional (usual) meaning of this term, which rather signifies mere direct cooperation among units or parts of units within the framework of a unified order of battle, which has been especially typical of units which by the nature of their purpose carry out combat actions at the tactical level.

This kind of cooperation, especially at the tactical level, also applies, of course, under the new conditions, and from the technical standpoint it will be organized and carried out in accordance with the well-known and long established principles. However, the new conditions make it a necessity that new participants in combat activity, participants which organizationally exist in the structure of territorial defense--all its units, institutions and agencies--be included in their entirety within the framework of coordinated action.

Given this situation, which is the real one, there are specific characteristics that emerge as the result of the new conditions in which combat operations will be prepared and organized. Basically these specific characteristics presuppose unified operation of all structures of the armed forces (YPA and TD), which makes it incumbent upon officers of tactical units to bear constantly in mind the fact that there is no space (regardless of size) where territorial defense structures will not be present and where their impact will not be felt on performance of missions--regardless of whether they are operating at the front, in our rear or on captured territory. In this respect, and also within the limits of their combat mission, they must constantly bear in mind the diverse capabilities and variants in which they might be operating, as a function of the circumstances, and, related to that, they must also bear in mind the mutual tactical-operational relationship which gives rise to mutual obligations of commands, units and other structures of territorial defense and the corresponding commands and units of the YPA. These possibilities are the following:

- i. along the axis, in the immediate area or in the zone of operation of tactical units of the YPA or in their immediate vicinity there may be located and there may be operating certain commands (staffs) of territorial defense or agencies of sociopolitical communities whose presence and activity should be borne in mind in the phase of preparations and the taking of all actions to carry out the combat mission;
- ii. certain (complete) territorial defense units or parts of them may be operating in the zone or in the immediate vicinity where YPA tactical units are committed--whether they are coordinating directly with them or carrying out other missions. In this case their location and mission should be precisely known, the manner of their action should be coordinated, and their full cooperation should be achieved; and
- iii. certain units of the YPA, especially lower tactical formations, may sometimes be attached temporarily to territorial defense units, and the reverse may also take place and indeed will be a frequent occurrence, especially when combat operations are being carried out on captured territory.

The realistic nature of these possibilities for mutual relations and obligations between YPA commands and units and corresponding territorial defense structures makes it imperative that the presence of territorial defense commands (staffs) and units and other agencies on the terrain be examined even in the phase of preparation and organization of combat operations; that mutual obligations be analyzed, and, in relation to that, that missions on

both sides be coordinated. In assessing the terrain (zone, immediate area or space of the operation), then, by contrast with the usual and conventional method, one must take into account a broader area than that affected by the immediate mission--bearing in mind that during its execution a change could occur in the combat situation and it might be necessary to adopt a new mode of operation. The result of this kind of analysis must first be given the form of a decision and must then be reflected in the missions assigned to subordinate officers, especially when coordination is being organized. This is the full significance of coordination under the new conditions--a mandatory procedure which precedes combat missions and which is conducted as the mission is carried out.

Organization of Coordinated Action in Certain Types of Combat and in Certain Tactical Procedures

In this part of the article we will discuss the problems of organizing coordination in the basic types of combat (offense and defense) and in tactical procedures which derive therefrom (pursuit and withdrawal), as well as in certain situations and significant combat activities typical of combat operations in nationwide warfare under present conditions (action on captured territory and against airborne landings) in which the joint activity of parts of both components of the armed forces is particularly pronounced.

Points of departure for organizing coordination in the various types of combat ordinarily arise out of the specific combat situation, which essentially signifies the following: the tactical-operational relation between our own and the enemy's forces (direct contact or units out of contact with the enemy); deployment of the enemy's forces and their combat activity; deployment and forthcoming mission of our own forces, and--in the case of units and other structures of territorial defense--their momentary location and immediate tasks in the relevant zone (immediate area), along the axis, or on the site of the action. The specific obligations and necessary procedures in organizing coordination for every specific case naturally arise out of these general propositions. Moreover, the basic thing to organizing coordination with TD units and agencies in the various types of combat and various tactical procedures is to examine the missions which they may be assigned in conformity with their basic specific purpose in view of the type of combat (tactical procedure), since this is the foundation of the specific procedures to be followed in organizing the coordination.

In an offensive (Diagram 1) territorial defense units and agencies may be assigned the following functions:

- i. gathering of data concerning the enemy, his deployment, strength, behavior and combat activity;
- ii. attacks, primarily against the flank of the enemy's forces, especially those parts isolated from the main body, either as they withdraw to new positions or are being drawn up from the rear to strengthen elements in jeopardy;

- iii. cutting the line of communications (by placement of obstacles and ambushes) in order to prevent supply and reinforcement;
- iv. attacks on artillery-rocket positions and rear institutions in the depth of his deployment;
- v. attacks on command elements (command posts and communication centers);
- vi. security of the wings and flanks of the YPA unit which is the principal combat force in carrying out the joint mission;
- vii. sabotage operations; and
- viii. the function of supplying, receiving and treating the injured and sick as well as decontamination--in cooperation with corresponding agencies of YPA units.

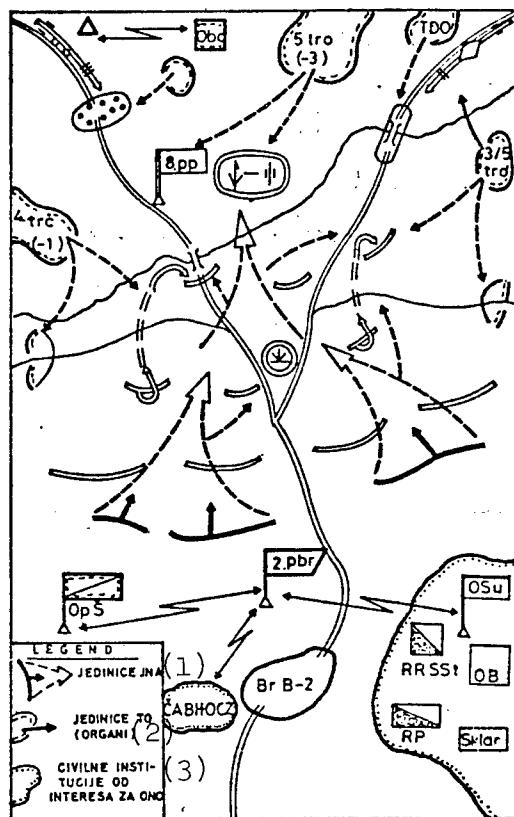


Diagram 1. Possible tasks of TD units in offense and coordination with YPA units.

Key: 1. YPA units
 2. TD units (agencies)
 3. Civilian institutions relevant to nationwide defense

These tasks and obligations of territorial defense units and agencies by and large apply to all cases, so that for the other tactical procedures related to offense and defense we will give only the distinguishing characteristics.

In pursuit territorial defense units may be committed to preventing the disengagement of enemy forces and the rearward organization of new positions; they may act in coordination with forward and pursuit detachments, and at times they may also take over their role, as shown in Diagram 2.

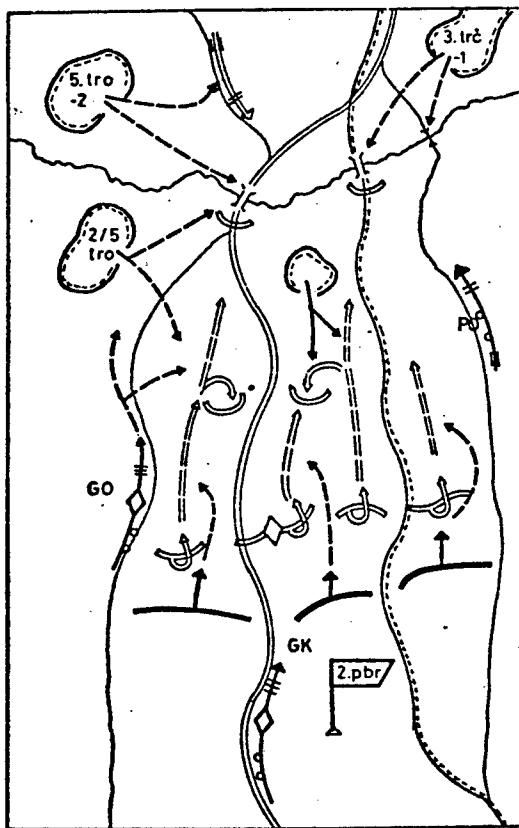


Diagram 2. Possible tasks of TD units in a pursuit operation.

In an attack on a settlement TD units may participate directly in the attack--together with YPA units, may operate against objectives within the settlement according to an advance plan, primarily by command of detachments and groups, and the entire population also becomes involved.

In fording a river TD units may participate in preparing materials and organizing landing points and ferry crossings; may secure the wings and flanks of YPA units engaged in fording the river; may conduct coordinated operations from the rear to secure a beachhead, where in most cases they would replace infiltrated elements.

In defense (Diagram 3) territorial defense, in addition to the tasks discussed for offense, may be assigned the following: action against the flank of the enemy's elements in the forward defense zone (if it is organized)--operating in coordination with the forward detachment in offering staged resistance; operation against enemy elements during the advance and deployment for attack, in which case they take over the role of infiltrated elements (or elements left behind); counterattacks, primarily against the flank of the enemy forces penetrating the depth of the zone (immediate area) of defense and action against infiltrated enemy elements and airborne landing forces.

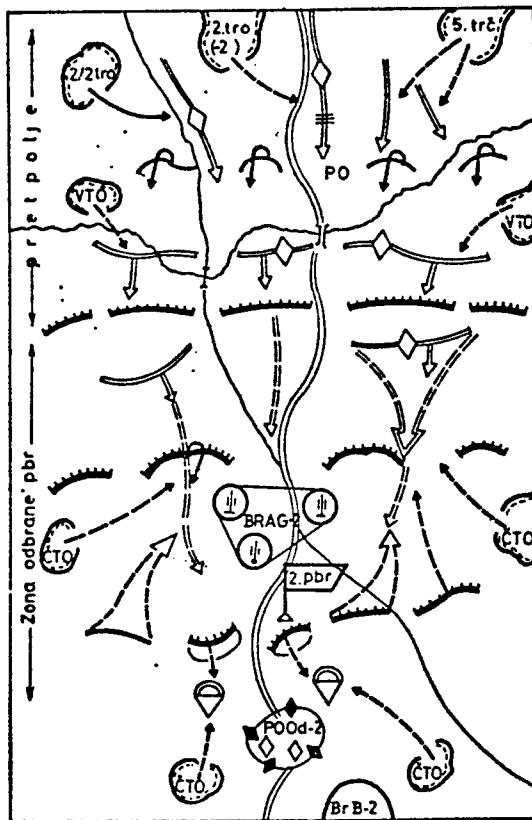


Diagram 3. Possible tasks of TD units in defense.

The presence of units (elements) of territorial defense is extremely important in retreat, and those in the zone (along the axis) of the retreat (Diagram 4) may play an important role, performing the following tasks: protecting the flanks of units (elements) against the action of enemy pursuit detachments; waging combat against airborne landing forces and infiltrated elements; protecting bridges on rivers and canals; coordinated operation with elements engaged in protection, and if necessary they can even take over their role.

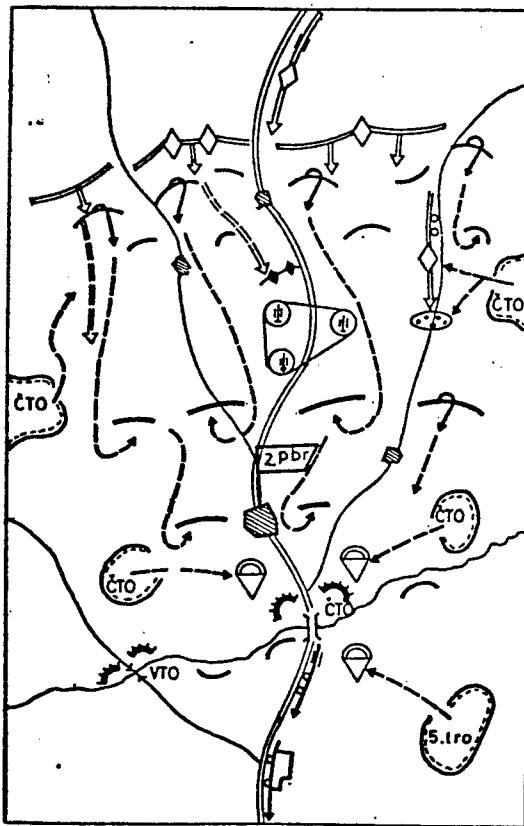


Diagram 4. Possible tasks of TD units in a retreat operation.

The presence, then, of territorial defense units where YPA units are carrying out combat activities and the tasks we have mentioned which they can be assigned in certain types of combat and certain tactical procedures make it inevitably necessary for activity on both sides to be precisely synchronized (in purpose, time and space)--otherwise their aggregate capabilities cannot be utilized in performance of the combat mission.

The actual solving of the basic problems in organizing coordination begins at the moment when the combat mission is received and the details are analyzed in the assessment of the situation, they are defined in the content of the decision, and they are achieved as combat operations are carried out. To do this officers of YPA units (if they are the principal combat force and responsible for organizing the coordination) need to have timely knowledge (even before the combat mission is obtained, of the precise deployment of territorial defense units (institutions) and agencies, their composition and strength. This information must be regularly in the possession of officers--even while the units are out of combat and performing other activities (resting, undergoing training, etc.).

When the mission is received, officers of YPA units must know the following in detail: the objectives envisaged--the axes of operation of territorial

defense units and their specific missions; the objectives of the joint operation, the manner in which contact is to be established and obligations with respect to organizing coordination. In principle this information is supplied by the superior command, but this does not relieve officers of tactical units of the obligation of constantly monitoring and remaining aware of the deployment and combat activity of TD units (agencies) and of maintaining uninterrupted communication with them.

The available data concerning deployment, missions and combat activity of TD units (agencies) are the principal basis for solving specific problems in organizing direct coordination and other types of cooperation (supply, care for the wounded and sick, exchange of data concerning the combat situation, etc.). It is on this basis that one undertakes to define the basic elements of the coordination and undertake the following necessary procedures:

- i. assessment of the capabilities of territorial defense units (elements) as to their strength, composition, deployment and distance from the objectives they might be assigned to;
- ii. ascertainment of joint obligations arising out of the missions both have received;
- iii. anticipation of preliminary procedures and actions which should be performed before beginning of combat operations, which essentially means this: who should do what at what time in the sense of movements and bringing up units to suitable tactical positions and time intervals for performance of various operations;
- iv. assignment of specific tasks to TD units (elements)--if they have been attached to YPA units, or adjustment of mutual obligations--in the case of coordination; and
- v. determination of the manner in which communications shall be constantly maintained without interruption in all phases of execution of the combat mission. Communications may be maintained in various ways: by using communication equipment; by direct contact at the command post; by sending messengers or representatives of the command (communications officer)--whether they are sent by the YPA command or the territorial defense command (staff).

In exercises there have been frequent cases when no communication whatsoever existed between YPA commands and the corresponding territorial defense structures, and their very presence was a formality. This is not in conformity with the obligations of joint and synchronized operation of units and activities of commands from both components of the armed forces.

All questions concerning the coordination, whose basic outlines are contained in a decision, are settled in principle at the command (commander's) briefing: for the lower levels (battalion-company) in the field, and for higher levels (brigade-regiment) this may even be done on the map--during briefing at the superior command post. There may be cases in practice when a special trip is

made to the terrain (important axes) to organize the coordination. The principle here should be that representatives of territorial defense units (agencies) also be present in the briefing and the organization of the coordination--so that they themselves would adjust their missions and obligations, or--if this is not possible--there should be a mutual exchange of decisions and basic missions by units, which should be the joint orientation during the entire course of the operation until the general (joint) mission is accomplished.

If YPA units (brigade-regiment or lower) are located on captured territory (Diagram 5), whether they have been cut off or deliberately left behind, and if they are performing combat missions there, the organization of coordination with territorial defense units has special features distinguishing it from the conduct of combat operations in the basic types of frontal combat. The main difference is that there is a considerable difference in the tasks which the YPA units can perform on captured territory. For example, when a brigade (regiment) is operating on captured territory, then as a rule it is given more flexible tasks (over a broader area and a longer time), which affords the commanding officer greater initiative in selection of objectives and manner of operation. Operations are characterized by surprise and rapid strikes against diverse enemy objectives--whether a concentric attack is undertaken against a single objective or, depending on the conditions and capabilities, simultaneous and alternate strikes are carried out against several different objectives. The tasks of units on captured territory take on this character because of the existence of various objectives and goals in the system of the enemy's deployment over a large area (smaller garrisons, crews, individual fortified structures, security elements, etc.).

With respect to organizing coordination and cooperation YPA units are exclusively dependent upon establishing direct contact with territorial defense units (agencies)--without whom any activity of theirs is limited, and frequently their survival will be impossible. These circumstances afford a greater opportunity for direct cooperation with respect to selection of objectives and mode of operation and in general in joint combat activity. In this case coordination is more direct, since officers of the relevant YPA units are in direct contact with the competent territorial defense agencies; there are better conditions in the preparatory phase for realistically dividing up assignments and for committing units in line with their purpose; the principal organizer of combat activities may be the competent territorial defense staff, but in such a situation the procedures in organizing coordination are adapted.

In an operation against enemy airborne landings (Diagram 6) coordination is especially important between YPA units and territorial defense, and there must always be a high level of organization. This requirement is imposed because airborne landings are in the method of their use and the manner of their operation a specific element in the enemy's order of battle; they may appear by surprise at various points and may directly threaten vital elements of our order of battle and important objectives in the system of deployment of units. It is therefore particularly important that a proper assessment

be made and that possible landing areas be foreseen, whereupon appropriate forces and materiel would be provided for and placed in a suitable position.

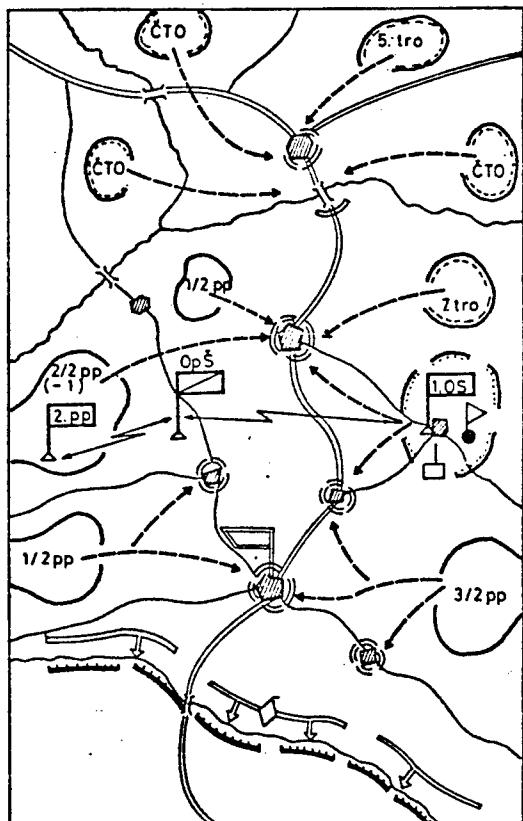


Diagram 5. Possible tasks of TD units on captured territory.

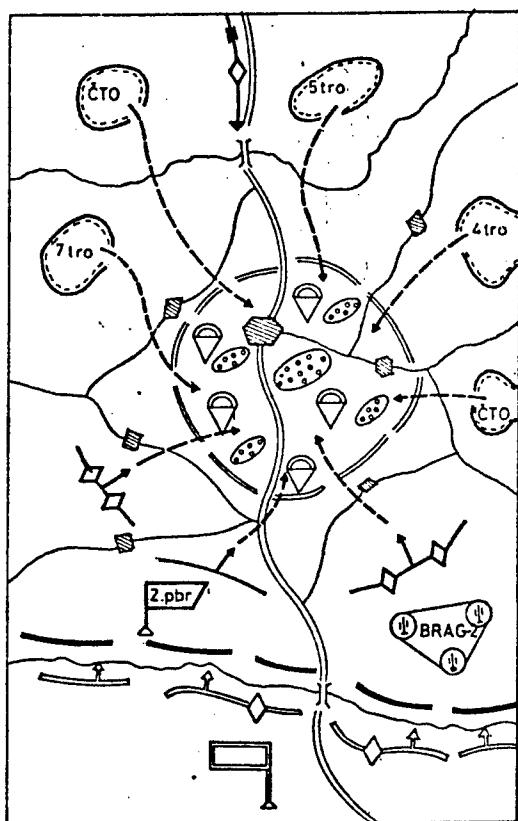


Diagram 6. Possible tasks of TD units in combat against an airborne landing.

On all occasions and in all combat situations combat against airborne landings is frequently the principal task of TD units, and sometimes they will be the main force for organizing and waging combat in the area of the landing--especially when this is done in our own rear, where special antilanding forces are organized. YPA units or elements of them may in such a situation also be part of antilanding forces of sizable strength, in which case they would perform their envisaged part of the mission. In any case, it is especially important that the joint tasks of YPA and TD units in combat against airborne landings be thoroughly coordinated and that the operation be synchronized in time and space. There is a specific importance that coordination in combat against airborne landings be organized in timely and detailed fashion even in the preparation phase, since there is no possibility of supplementing it during the action. The reason is that the operation against an airborne landing takes place quickly--by sending units from several directions, and the outcome of the battle is decided in a relatively short time.

The problems set forth in this analysis have been defined as principles in the new combat rules for the following levels: brigade, regiment, battalion, company and platoon; we feel that they have been well adapted to the new conditions assumed by the conception of nationwide defense. However, this is not enough if the provisions of the rules are to be consistently applied in practice--in the training of officers and units. If, say, training in tactics were conducted according to the old methods, where the tactical assumption would signify a general combat situation derived from conventional conditions--and territorial defense structures would not be present or their presence would be only a formality, then the prescribed rules, with all the new elements, would be of no particular benefit. I therefore think it particularly important that the situation typical of the new conditions be realistically portrayed when the combat situation is created during the conduct of exercises. This should be a particular concern in organizing and performing training with lower-level tactical units, since it is at these levels that the problems arising from the conception and occurring within their combat mission are neglected. Nor should we forget that it is always possible and necessary to create hypothetical situations in which officers will have to confront the kind of problems which in view of the extent of their mission would force them to organize coordination with territorial defense units and agencies. This is the only method that guarantees that the provisions and principles defined in the new rules will be implemented in practice, and at the same time it is the only way of assessing their value.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIA LC DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN SELF-MANAGEMENT PLURALISM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 77 p 4

[Account by Branimir Kovacevic of a discussion of Edvard Kardelj's book "Pravci Razvoja Politickog Sistema Socijalistickog Samoupravljanja" [Lines of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management] organized by the Center for Ideological and Political Studies of the League of Communists of Croatia: "Pluralism of Interests in Self-Management--What Does That Mean?"]

[Text] The theoretical conference on Edvard Kardelj's book "Pravci Razvoja Politickog Sistema Socijalistickog Samoupravljanja," which was organized last Friday by the Center for Ideological and Political Studies of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, brought together several political figures and scholars who endeavored in the course of an interesting conversation lasting several hours--including quite a few critical remarks at certain points--to set forth the book's theses and propositions which would make worthwhile points of departure for broader theoretical discussions and also debates in the field of practical politics.

One opinion expressed in the conference was that Edvard Kardelj's study cannot be discussed outside the context of the existing political documents, the LCY Program, the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and others. There is also the Platform for the Tenth LCY Congress, which sets forth in compressed form experiences concerning the nature of our society and emphasize that our society is a society of the transitional period and that inherited economic and political categories need to be superseded. It is for that reason that associated labor was set up and the delegate system installed....

It was suggested that further discussion in connection with this study should be oriented toward debates concerning the performance of the League of Communists, concerning the present position of the working class, concerning the functioning of the delegate system....

These are the notes we took in the conference.

Notes on Statement by Ivan Jelic

The thesis of a diversity of interests in self-management has come to the foreground and aroused the greatest interest. The thesis is derived from an examination of the nature of our society. The diversity of interests, or pluralism, corresponds to the diversity among participants in self-management. This thesis alludes to the great complexity of relations in society. Interests take shape and operate as an expression of associated individuals (the basic organization of associated labor, complex organizations, industries, spheres within the economy, and so on) and at the same time they express man's status as an individual in a society in which, for example, that individual expresses his interests in the opstina, in the local community, in satisfying his needs in the fields of education, health, and so on.

Since these interests have not been sufficiently differentiated as a fact, as social reality, and since they have not been legitimized from the standpoint of constitutional law, different points of view and disagreements are to be expected in treatment of theses concerning a pluralism of interests in self-management. For example, everyone is familiar with the positions of the banks, export-import organizations, and also trade vis-a-vis production. These positions ought to have been changing in line with the constitutional conception, but this still has not occurred or has occurred only to a minor extent. It is the interest of the people employed in those organizations, in those spheres of social labor, to maintain and perpetuate the position already created. Can the thesis of a pluralism of interests in self-management be resorted to in defending the status quo, or should one insist on a distinction between actuality and legitimacy and from that standpoint act to abolish and transform those interests which are not legitimate from the standpoint of the constitutional concept?

Notes on Statement by Jovo Miric

When we talk about the pluralism of interests in self-management, one can conclude from the context that the reference is to interests which are organized within self-management, that is, which are also institutionalized. The question is whether all these interests which exist and which are expressed outside this mechanism are nonself-management interests and what attitude should be taken toward those interests. Is it possible for some self-management interest to be expressed as well for one reason or another outside the mechanism that already exists, whether because the mechanism itself falls into disuse or because the institutions referred to as self-managed have become bureaucratic and therefore a very unsuitable form for expression of a pluralism of self-management interests?

Where a pluralism of self-management interests is authentic, it is also politically effective. Wherever a general hegemony and harmony of differences prevails, this is actually political totalitarianism in one form or another. Only before a despot are all equal. As soon as we say pluralism, we have said democracy. In self-management democracy is the political form in which the working class organized as a state has the decisive significance.

Notes on Statement by Tomislav Jantol

Why is it that delegations are not the place where one might achieve this so-called initial merger of individual, special and general, joint interests? Why is it that delegations are a bottleneck in passing the will of the self-managers in the basic units of society on to the higher levels?

Obviously because the delegations are not the places where decisions crucial to realization of the particular special interests in question are either made or prepared. In other words, delegations are a mere assemblage of delegates which is supposed to represent the will and interests of associated labor at the first line of the opstina, i.e., at the first level of government. The delegates are carriers, but the delegations are a mere gathering of delegates, and not a specific body or medium for acting in mediating overall and partial interests.

Another related problem is that the conscious forces of society ought to equip themselves to be a strong factor in linking together those partial and overall interests. Why is it that sociopolitical organizations are not more strongly represented by their own will and their own policy? Because they feel that they have no power here. Political organizations, especially the key ones which make decisions concerning social development, always turn up where there is power, and there is no power in the delegations, since they do not participate in the decisionmaking process. We ought to make sure that a considerable part of the decisionmaking takes place in the very phase of preparation, that is, in the delegations. In that case the sociopolitical organizations would probably want to be here, and conversely, that very desire on the part of sociopolitical organizations to be active in this area would stimulate practice so that the delegations become what is expected of them.

Notes on Statement by Milan Miskovic

This book, with all its proposals and reflections, was able to make its appearance because our society has settled the main lines of development in the socioeconomic sense. This we did back at the Tenth LCY Congress and then in adopting the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. In so doing we defined the basic strategy: the development of self-management, which is based on social ownership of the means of production, on the workers' assumption of control over the conditions and results of their labor, and so on.

It is thought by some that ideas about pluralism of self-management interests could lead to liberalism. Such a danger does realistically exist. Had such ideas been offered in some previous stage of our development, those dangers would have been far greater. However, precisely because we have defined the main lines of development in the principles and documents already mentioned, we now have an opportunity to take a step further. We must, of course, always bear in mind that there are group-ownership tendencies and various power centers, and that they will create and try to shape their own interests in this context.

The question now, however, is one of trying to establish the power of the workers in alliance with the other working people on the basis of the program and the political stands that have been taken, and it is with that intention that we are changing our political system. We start with the organizations of associated labor and with recognition of the fact that different interests do exist, but also that we must link them together, merge them and reconcile them, and that is why we created the delegate system. The essential question here is reconciling those different interests and resolving social problems within the delegate system. Why is it that the delegations are what they are, why is social power not being expressed through these channels? Many causes are involved here. The delegations and the delegates obviously have not been in a position where they can make real decisions on the matters they ought to be deciding on; rather the decision is made somewhere else. As soon as a delegate senses that, he naturally loses interest in making decisions. That is why changes in the direction sought by Edvard Kardelj ought to help to put delegations and delegates in a situation where they can make real decisions. This cannot, of course, be achieved unless the organized objective forces are active.

The League of Communists must work in a different way. It is not a question, then, of whether something should be examined and what should be examined, but a question of how it should be taken up. And the question of whether it will impose its decisions by the force of authority, from positions of power, or whether party members, taking their stands, will fight among people at the places where decisions are made for the decisions being made by the competent bodies to be in line with the interests of the working class.

Notes on Statement by Vanja Sutlic

If a pluralism of interests is not acknowledged, then the real situation is not being acknowledged. This is not only a specific feature of our social system, but every socialist society ought to acknowledge it. Whoever fails to recognize this will find ways of suppressing that pluralism of interests, and this is manifested in inefficiency and low labor productivity. Democracy is not merely an ideal and not merely a question of human dignity and freedom, it is a prerequisite for production efficiency and economic efficiency.

In this connection we should also emphasize the role of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance. The League of Communists must make itself felt in every such interest, but not in the sense of defending some specific interest on every occasion, but of being concerned about the overall interest. There is something more than a terminological difference between the words "party" and "league." It is a qualitative difference. The League of Communists is a league of those who are concerned about those global interests everywhere, including their own work station. A party defends special interests, while the League of Communists does not defend special interests, but defends the global interests of society.

There is no particular danger of a veering in the direction of liberalism, though such tendencies do exist. If the pluralism of interests carries over into the League of Communists, then this is a danger. Then it is all the same whether we call it a one-party system or a multiparty system or even a nonparty system. This pluralism of interests within the League of Communists itself is expressed either as factions or in the form of separate groupings making deals with this one and that one. We therefore need a precise definition of the role of the League of Communists in the context of socialist self-management, in the context of democracy, in the context of diversity of interests, and in the context of conclusion of accords and the free exchange of opinions and goods. It is here that the League of Communists is then of greater importance than it previously was as a party and has a more responsible role, since it is concerned about the entirety of the process.

Notes on Statement by Leon Gerskovic

The essential thing is that today we are looking for a political system which corresponds to a self-managed society, and that search for a political system is not just our affair, but the business of contemporary socialism as a whole, which is seeking an answer to the question of the ways in which a political system can be expressed in contemporary society. It is no accident that the essence is given organizational and political expression in the delegate system.

We want to create, then, a political system which will be expressed in the delegate system. The reason for that is that the delegate system should arise out of a man's right to work with socially owned means of production. We need to start with man, but not with man as owner, but man as bearer of the right to self-management and bearer of the right to work with socially owned resources. In this right of his, which is basic, absolute and natural, man should express all of his interests. It therefore follows that there is a pluralism of self-management interests and that those interests are expressed, reconciled and resolved within the entirety of the delegate system.

Proceeding on the basis of this basic right of his, the individual is active in special-interest communities, in assemblies, in workers' councils, in worker caucuses, and so on, and through the delegate method of decisionmaking he reconciles his own interests with common interests. This is the essence of our new political system. There is talk about the weakness of the delegations and about how decisions are being made in other places. Those other places are bodies set up for purposes of professional management. The essential point is that technocracy in our system is a special social phenomenon, and not just a general phenomenon. Technocracy is holding on to power and might. This ought to be studied in greater detail from the theoretical standpoint, but the issue of the attitude toward technocracy should also be raised as a practical political matter. In large part technocracy is also into the League of Communists, and it backs up the tendency toward the monopoly of a one-party system. That is why the League of Communists is not in the delegations, it is in the professional management bodies.

Notes on Statement by Ivan Siber

The book has aroused widespread interest, and it has become an indispensable catchword in everyday political speeches, it is being used uncritically sometimes, and many of its propositions have not been understood. The discussion ought to be aimed at stressing those innovations pointed up in the book, but also at clarifying and indicating those inconsistencies that are in the book itself, so that they might possibly be corrected in some future text.

Notes on Statement by Damir Grubisa

The fundamental categories of the political system have already been worked out both in the Constitution, in our normative acts, and also in the debates concerning political theory which preceded the constitutional amendments. We can therefore say that there is nothing essentially new to our political system in the concept of "pluralism of self-management interests." In this connection it is worth explaining those tendencies which are emerging or which will emerge.

Some look upon this concept not only as a legitimization of a pluralism of self-management interests, but they also try to extend it to pluralism of nonself-management interests. By legitimate self-management interests we might refer to those interests which are articulated in the self-managed foundation of society and on which our system of self-management is built. However, even that pluralism is not pluralism in the full sense of the word, since we are not saying that those interests are equal in importance, but that in the ultimate reconciliation of those interests that interest must always be found which is best justified and most permanent from the social standpoint. In other words, every organization of associated labor operates on the market as a kind of special-interest group. This confrontation of individual special-interest groups gives rise to a tendency toward imposing one's own interests, in other words, toward complete affirmation of one's own interests. Then comes the process of achieving harmony within that diversity of interests. For that reason we cannot even speak about a pluralism of self-management interests, but about a selective or relative pluralism of self-management interests.

The phenomenon of the pluralism of nonself-management interests is much more significant. Many people see the concept of the pluralism of self-management interests, that is, as an opportunity to advance the interests of individual groups and exert pressure in favor of them, passing them off as socially objective and justified interests. We have a number of professions which are very important in the organization of production in this society. These are the disciplines consisting of professional managers. All of these groups use this broad idea of the pluralism of self-management interests and are trying to make their own interests dominant or, at the very least, if they are unable to act as a legitimate participant in their own right, then they try to infiltrate those legitimate bearers of self-management interests and to achieve a deviation of those interests. Technocracy is trying to set itself up as a formal special-interest group and it may even try to restore certain superseded production relations.

Notes on Statement by Vjekoslav Koprivnjak

The central question here is the position of the subjective forces, above all the activity of the League of Communists and then of the other socio-political organizations. What is going on with the League of Communists? It is not today what it was yesterday. Today in Croatia we have 270,000 members of the League of Communists, and in Yugoslavia we will probably have 1.5 million members before the 11th Congress.

In what way should this League of Communists operate, how do we guarantee internal party democracy, what is to be done about democratic centralism? It is precisely because we are a society of the transitional period that two unfavorable events could occur: what is happening in society at large could begin to be reflected in the League of Communists, which would mean that it would be eliminated from the social scene. The second danger is that the League of Communists be transformed into a party. We had such tendencies in some fashion before 1971 in the form of liberalism and nationalism. There was a desire for the League of Communists to become a place where all the interests operating in society would be represented. This was the essence of the mass movement. Then self-management would no longer be a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a neutral framework which would neutrally guide those tendencies and would thereby make it possible for certain strata (technocracy and others) to assume the leading role and to betray the entire revolution.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 77 p 7 AU

[Report on interview with Eng Peta Kostic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, on Serbia's economic development, by Toma Milic--no place or date given]

[Summary] "Regarding the topic of Serbia's development next year, our interlocutor Eng Petar Kostic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, who is well informed on the economic situation, shares the opinion of planners that a change is needed in economic operations so as to make up for the missed opportunities in the past 2 years. Preconditions for a more rapid development in 1978 are harder work and greater discipline, a deepening of self-management, a broader and stronger association of labor in all fields, a struggle for product quality and increased exports."

The resolution on economic policy for next year is an obligation to recoup lags so as to not jeopardize the Five-Year Plan. Industrial production should increase by 9 percent and above average production is expected in energy, metallurgy, the metalworking industry and the electricity generating industry.

Vice Premier Kostic said that the Belgrade-Nis superhighway will be completed by 1980. Conditions have also been created to bring the Morava River basin under control. Several projects of the basic and processing chemical industry are either under construction or will be started in Belgrade, Pancevo, Sabac and Prahovo. Construction of a gas pipeline and an oil pipeline has also begun. The Smederevo steel mill will be completed by 1981. When completed, it will produce 1.5 million tons of pig iron, 1.65 million tons of steel, 1.5 million tons of rolled strip and sheet metal. On the basis of these products a number of other plants are being built in the country, among them also a tinplate plant in Sabac which will produce 150,000 tons per year.

Preparations are also under way to build thermoelectric power plants in Obrenovac, Kolubara, Kostolac and in Kosovo and Vojvodina. Hydroelectric power plants will be built at Bajina Basta, Sjenica and Zavoj. The construction of the Iron Gate Two power plant will be of special importance.

The Bor copper mining and smelting combine has suffered great damage from disturbances in the world market, but is nonetheless preparing to open a new copper mine. The Crvena Zastava automobile plant of Kragujevac is implementing its medium-term production plan which should insure an annual production of 300,000 motor vehicles. Next year, agriculture will play a somewhat smaller role and its production will increase by 3.8 percent.

In addition to medical centers in Nis and Belgrade, several other medical institutions, schools and other projects will be under construction next year. It is also planned to build over 60,000 apartments, hotels with some 4,500 beds and other projects.

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